HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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But Plays It Cool

Rockefeller Off and Running for '68

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

At every turn, the political prognosticators are weighing the chances of Republican hopefuls for the presidential nomination. By now, these predictions have boiled down to a series of bromides: Gov. George Romney of Michigan is just spinning his wheels, Richard Nixon is out in front and will stay there unless and until he tears his pants in the primaries, Gov. Ronald Reagan of California is on a stand-by basis.

Most of the pundits seem to forget one name: Nelson Rockefeller. Gov. Rockefeller, from his New York bastion, continues to talk a Romney game. He also lets all and sundry—or at least those who will quote him in the news prints—think that he is not a candidate. The professionals listen, but they are not impressed.

The simple fact—and like all simple facts, it has its built-in complexities—is that Gov. Rockefeller is as much a candidate today as he was in 1964. He is just playing it differently, more wisely, and with infinite cunning. That he is letting the other putative candidates bounce around the country in search of primary and convention votes, while he remains above the battle, is part of his strategy. But behind the scenes, Rockefeller activists are beating the bushes and lining up commitments.

Those who continue to believe that he is not out for the nomination are deceiving themselves. And they are allowing Mr. Rockefeller to take the high ground while the committed candidates cut one another to pieces on the low road to success. Mr. Rockefeller is playing the game of how-to-be-the-Republican-candidate-without-really-trying.

Game it is, because the New York governor *is* trying. But as a non-candidate, he can go his way without having every statement he makes, every speech he delivers, every deal he negotiates being subject to the merciless scrutiny of Republicans and Democrats alike. He can make friends and influence people without the concomitant loss of support.

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller enjoys a laugh with big labor's top leaders, George Meany (left) and Walter Reuther. When Rockefeller makes his move, he can count on considerable support from the liberal labor bloc so crucial to the big-city vote.

This is paying off. Careful surveys made by certain organizations—not pollsters—show that Rockefeller strength is widespread in the nation. Many people who answer the questions put to them by George Gallup, Louis Harris, and the other professional opinion tappers, give one impression. But when questioned in depth, they indicate a willingness, though not a passionate desire, to see Nelson Rockefeller in the White House.

Some of this sentiment is a direct result of Gov. Rockefeller's silent campaign. By not pounding the ears of the citizenry with his thoughts and aspirations, he has qualified the bitterness of some who remember him with no love as the 1964 spoiler. They see a change in him, a "new" Rockefeller who has gotten the religion of party unity.

He has something else working for him. Mr. Nixon represents the right-of-center. Gov. Reagan is clearly of the right. Once upon a time, Nelson Rockefeller represented the liberal wing of the GOP. But in the past months, he has managed to fuzz up that image. He is nothing of anything right now, ideologically speaking, and this is a great help. The bemused can turn to him without the encumbrances of his political stands.

There are, of course, Republicans who still insist that if he runs for the presidency they are going fishing. But when the chips are down, there will be defections in this group—defections, that is, if Gov. Rockefeller does not make the mistake of embroiling himself in the kind of controversy that is endemic to the Republican party.

One fact seems to be true. Rockefeller money is being spent to set up the cadres for a political organization. It can be beefed up with political effectives in a brief period of time, if and when the signal is given from the governor's mansion in Albany. And political organization can tell the story, particularly against Mr. Nixon, who tends to antagonize old friends even as he gains new ones, and Mr. Reagan, whose strategy is based on a last-minute push.

That Gov. Rockefeller is far stronger than the pundits believe does not mean that he has it made. It does mean that he is a threat to any and all the candidates that the Republican party can field. Here in Washington, professional politicians tend to think in terms of muscle on Capitol Hill and at the Republican National Committee. But Barry Goldwater did it without any discernible help from the GOP's political establishment. If Mr. Goldwater could, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that Nelson Rockefeller also can.

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Labor Certain Rocky's a Candidate

Labor columnist Victor Riesel, who covered the recent national convention of the AFL-CIO, had this to say about the Rocky-for-President drive:

"The labor giants who turned their massive gathering in Bal Harbour, Fla., into a mini-Democratic nominating convention certainly are among the best-informed political men in the nation—and they have firsthand knowledge that Nelson A. Rockefeller is running hard for the Republican nomination and is building a 'stop-Nixon' machine.

"The New York governor, hoping to weld some powerful labor leaders into that machine, tried to rope some of them off the Johnson bandwagon by dispatching an emissary to the AFL-CIO convention some days before the 'Lyndon Rodeo,' as the delegates called it. That emissary was—and will continue to be—Maryland's new governor, Spiro Agnew. This isn't strange since, as few are aware, the Marylander practiced labor law before taking office. . . .

"[After Agnew left] Rockefeller was well represented by at least five men with wide labor contacts. And they worked almost round the clock, hounding the lobbies, the restaurants and the private suites. Among them were four New York State officials and one banker. One, Jay Kramer, is chairman of the State Labor Relations Board, who are deputy commissioners and one heads another big state agency. . . .

"Just before the AFL-CIO convention closing, the leader of one of the movement's biggest national unions told this correspondent:

" 'Who says Rocky is not running? Who says he's awaiting a draft? He's running, all right, or his fellows would not be all over the place.'

"Seems like a fairly reasonable conclusion."

NEWSPAPER

Unionism: Next Crisis For American Universities?

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Political pros say that LBJ cashiered Defense Secretary **Robert McNamara** because he had become a political liability. Adding substance to this theory is the report of Pollster Louis Harris that McNamara's popularity had plummeted in recent months. At the time of his resignation, Harris says, McNamara had a 42-to-45 per cent negative rating. By contrast, Gen. William Westmoreland has a 68-to-16 positive rating on his performance.

● There's dissension in the family of former California Gov. **Edmund (Pat) Brown.** Papa is a member of the loyalist, pro-LBJ slate that will run in the state's presidential primary. Son Edmund Jr. is raising funds for the peace slate that hopes to oppose the party regulars.

● Rep. **Richard Schweiker** (R.-Pa.) will be the GOP opponent of liberal Democratic Sen. Joseph Clark next fall. Schweiker's nomination became assured last week when his only potential opponent, State Secretary of Internal Affairs John K. Tabor, withdrew from the race in the interest of "party unity." Schweiker, an increasingly liberal "moderate," trails Clark in all the polls.

● Michigan Gov. **George Romney** is again complaining that he was "misquoted" by the press. Several days after an AP correspondent quoted Romney as rhapsodizing over French-American relations, the Michigan governor said the quote was "absolutely inaccurate." But the reporter stuck by his guns, declaring that his notes supported the original quotation.

● Female peaceniks led by former Rep. **Jeannette Rankin** (R.-Mont.) the first woman elected to the U.S. House, will converge on Washington next month to demonstrate against the war in Viet Nam. In addition to the 87-year-old Miss Rankin, sponsors of the protest include Mrs. Martin Luther King, Women Strike for Peace leader Dagmar Wilson, the daughter of Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.), Mrs. Judith Morse Eaton, and actress Viveca Lindfors. As a member of Congress, Miss Rankin opposed a declaration of war against Japan even though Pearl Harbor had been bombed the day before.

● The New Left is running out of martyrs. A shortage of demonstrators willing to spend Christmas in jail forced **anti-war leaders** to cancel a third protest last week at the Armed Forces Induction Center in Oakland, Calif. Among those arrested in the first two demonstrations: Author Kay Boyle, beat-poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and folk chanteuse Joan Baez and her mother.

● Columnist Robert S. Allen points out that retired Gen. **James Gavin**, a leading dove on Viet Nam, is carefully not mentioning the rather interesting fact that "during the Korean War he advocated using tactical nuclear weapons against the Communists and urged U.S. intervention with an airlift in the Hungarian uprising in the 1950s." At that time Gavin was still in the service and was one of the most militant war hawks in the Pentagon.

● Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has thrown his support behind GOP Rep. **Edward Gurney**, who is seeking the Senate seat now occupied by the retiring Democrat George Smathers. Dirksen recently addressed a $100-a-plate fund-raising dinner for Gurney in Tampa.

● COPE, the political arm of big labor, will concentrate its resources in approximately **90 marginal congressional districts.** Included as targets will be most of the 47 seats picked up by the Republicans in 1966. In addition, COPE will pour funds into the re-election campaigns of Democratic Senators Ernest Gruening (Alaska), Joe Clark (Pa.), George McGovern (S.D.), Gaylord Nelson (Wis.), Birch Bayh (Ind.), Daniel Brewster (Md.) and Mike Monroney (Okla.).

● The **Ninth World Youth Festival,** a Kremlin operation, will be held next summer in Sofia, Bulgaria. Leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., will handpick the delegation to represent "American youth" at the festival.

● Speaking last week in New Hampshire, Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** shared the platform with William Strickland, militant "Black Power" leader who assailed the United States as a "racist nation" and a "criminal society." Newsmen noted that McCarthy smiled during Strickland's harangue and applauded at its finish. The Washington Post reported: "Later, during the question period, McCarthy mildly challenged 'the view that the United States is basically racist.' But he did not go beyond that. The university students and faculty members seemed puzzled; Strickland was grinning."

● LBJ has broken with Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark on a major issue and informed key legislators that he does not object to a **wiretap provision** in his anti-crime bill. Clark has argued that even court-approved wiretapping is an inexcusable invasion of privacy.

● The **Romney-for-President organization** is having more staff difficulties. In its August 26 issue, Human Events noted that one young worker had left the Romney team in a "huff" and that "even more important defections are expected." Now it has been revealed that Dr. Walter DeVries, Romney's speechwriter since 1962, has resigned effective December 31 and William Murphy, who joined the Romney organization about a year ago, has gone to work for Sen. James B. Pearson (R.-Kan.). Possible future candidates for departure, according to columnists Evans and Novak, are researcher William Prendergast and congressional liaison man Robert J. (Jack) McIntosh, a former U.S. representative.

● The chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Sen. Edmund Muskie (Maine), is gravely concerned over the 1968 elections. Muskie tells friends that at least a half-dozen **Democratic incumbents** are in real danger of defeat.

● Rep. Joseph Resnick (D.-N.Y.), a hawk on Viet Nam, has labeled Bobby Kennedy a leader of the Democrats' **"bug-out faction."** Resnick challenged Kennedy to visit Viet Nam and "listen to these people before making up your mind."

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Enemy Plans Revealed

Persistent reports that the United States may attempt to force a "coalition" regime on the South Vietnamese have gravely alarmed anti-Communists in and out of government.

In fact, hard-liners within the Administration are now circulating a captured Viet Cong document that indicates a coalition regime susceptible to control is just what the Reds want.

The document says the coalition would permit the Viet Cong to "find a way out of our ideological plight" brought about by an increase of U.S. military power and the Communists' acknowledged inability to deliver a "lethal blow" in the war. The Philadelphia *Inquirer's* Washington correspondent, Joseph Goulden, quotes government experts as saying the document represents a major shift in the Viet Cong's attitude, adding:

"It apparently heralds a coordinated Communist propaganda campaign to pressure the United States and the South Vietnamese to take elements of the National Liberation Front [political arm of the Viet Cong] into the Saigon government."

Seized by U.S. troops October 10, the VC analysis maintains that the Communists cannot expect to defeat the American "enemy" in the foreseeable future.

"We are not strong enough now to deal them a lethal blow. A coalition government will be advantageous to our revolutionary goals. What is important is that we must have control over the government, the workers and the peasants. It does not matter if there are a few [non-party] notables at the top. The front's political program must be followed."

The long-range goal remains creation of a "Socialist," i.e., Communist, regime. The immediate objective, says the document, is establishment of a "neutral independent, national democratic regime progressing toward socialism."

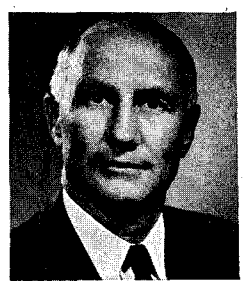
"There is no contradiction," the VC analysis notes. ". . . Our party will exercise over-all control over [the coalition] and if our agents are firmly established, and if they properly carry out the principal lines of the front, the [party] will lead the revolution to the final objective."

• The VC document indicates that the stepped-up American offensive of recent months has been effective. In region IV (the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh area), losses of personnel and property are double those of a year ago; "many rice fields were abandoned," and "over 20,000 people were herded from our region."

Artillery and air strikes have put fear in the VC heart. Many cadre requested "to be sent away from the battlefield." Discipline ebbed, and VC activities "were not carried deep enough into the enemy areas."

Viet Cong at the U.N.?

The Administration's assertion that it "would not stand in the way of" Viet Cong representatives who wish to come to the U.N. headquarters in New York City, has drawn a sharp rebuke from Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.). U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and State Department press officer Robert McCloskey have both stated that United States policy in this matter is determined by the U.N. Headquarters Site Agreement which, they contend, binds the United States to admit to its shores any individual receiving an official U.N. invitation.



THURMOND

But, Thurmond countered in a Senate speech, "this is not only an absurd policy, it is a policy based upon a legal misunderstanding. The truth is that we are not bound to anything by the U.N. Headquarters Site Agreement. Despite 20 years of obscuring the issue, the State Department has never got the United Nations to accept the conditions imposed by that agreement."

If the Administration's faulty reasoning is allowed to stand and Viet Cong agents are given visas to come to the U.N. headquarters in New York, argued Thurmond, "we give credence and support to the myth that the Viet Cong are conducting a 'civil war' motivated by nationalism."

Instead of giving Hanoi such a propaganda advantage, Thurmond suggests the Administration "seek to block the Viet Cong from exploiting the forums of public opinion, and the mechanisms that belong to legitimate governments."

In tracing the intricate history of the U.N. Headquarters Site Agreement, which is at the base of the Administration's feeling of "obligation" toward admitting the Viet Cong, Sen. Thurmond made the following points:

• In June 1947 the U.S. government (through the State Department) and U.N. leadership signed a draft agreement on the headquarters site. But the draft could not become final until authorized by the U.S. Congress and the U.N. General Assembly.

• President Truman sent the draft to Capitol Hill, asking Congress to approve a joint House-Senate resolution on the treaty.

• The Senate Foreign Relations Committee added amendments to the draft protecting U.S. immigration laws; the Senate accepted the committee's amended version.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

• The House added further amendments to the draft, including several dealing with internal security and situations where avowed enemies of the U.S. (such as the Viet Cong) would come to this country.

• President Truman signed the resolution as it was passed, in amended form, by Congress.

• U.N. Secretary General Trygve Lie notified the U.N. Committee on Legal Questions, which was examining the headquarters site agreement, of the Truman-Congress action.

• When the committee made its report to the General Assembly, however, no mention was made of the congressional amendments; the agreement text which it reported—and which the assembly approved—was only the June 26 draft agreement, not the amended version.

"In other words," summarized Sen. Thurmond, "the agreement authorized by the General Assembly was not the agreement authorized by Congress. Legally speaking, there was no meeting of minds. They did not agree. The agreement did not even come into existence."

And, as for how this situation pertains to the present Administration policy regarding the Viet Cong, Thurmond added:

"There is no legal requirement that we grant visas to the Viet Cong, or to any other subversive elements which we wish to exclude from our soil. In this light, therefore, the U.S. policy of inviting the Viet Cong to come to America is revealed as an entirely gratuitous action. We certainly have no moral requirement to invite our enemies within our gates, and we have no legal requirement."

In addition to imploring the Administration to keep Viet Cong representatives out of our country, and deprive them of a propaganda forum at the United Nations, Sen. Thurmond also suggested the State Department should clear up the matter of the U.N. Headquarters Site Agreement. "It is intolerable," he told the Senate, "for the United Nations to be occupying its present site within U.S. territory without the proper legal arrangements."

'Model Cities' Gimmick

The "guaranteed annual income" will be tested in 15 communities under the Model Cities program, despite the fact that Congress has yet to approve the revolutionary handout.

Nearly a quarter of the 63 cities awarded Model Cities grants in late November plan to study or experiment extensively with slum family subsidies. Boston, for instance, proposes "an experimental income maintenance program for selected welfare recipients who are trainees in vocational programs."

Newark, N.J., will test annual subsidies designed to bring the incomes of selected low-income families up to those of working class families in the area.

East St. Louis, Ill., proposes to study the effects of a "negative income tax," a "fatherless child insurance" and "family allowances for pre-school children."

Other communities which plan to experiment with various "income-maintenance" plans are Oakland, Calif., Trenton, N.J., Honolulu, Hawaii, Dade County (Miami) Fla., and Detroit.

Unlike Prof. Milton Freidman's well-known proposal, which would eliminate all existing welfare programs and replace them with a "negative income tax," many of the model cities' income plans would be *in addition* to present welfare handouts.

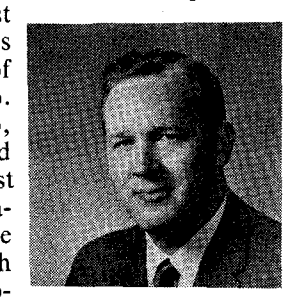
It is noteworthy that the Department of Housing and Urban Development waited until Congress left town before disclosing that the "guaranteed annual wage" would be tried with Model Cities funds. Earlier this year, for instance, HUD officials went to great lengths to knock down any suggestion that it might finance such experiments.

In February, a District of Columbia official announced that a guaranteed annual income of as much as $4,000 a year would be the "keystone" of Washington's model city program. But as the Washington *Post* noted last week:

"Nothing like that ever appeared in the city's final application [for Model Cities funds]. It was learned that a high official of HUD told District officials to drop the matter because it was causing trouble on Capitol Hill where the department was then attempting to win approval of model city appropriations."

GOP Liberals

The American Conservative Union has completed its analysis of the voting record of all Republican House members for the first session of the 90th Congress and found, in the words of the group's chairman, Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), "that despite talk of so-called 'constructive alternatives,' most of the Johnson Administration's major programs have been enacted or extended with the aid of a handful of Republican votes."



ASHBROOK

Continuing, Ashbrook asked, "Are Republicans in Congress abandoning political principle and trying to curry favor with certain voting blocs who want these programs?" The ACU was also disturbed by the actions of the House GOP leadership, said Ashbrook, because "no pressures have been exerted by the Republican leadership to prevent the liberals in the party from supporting these programs, thereby diluting the strength of the rest of the party in Congress."

The ACU's voting analysis was released in the form of a "Democratic Margin of Victory" (DMV) report for the 90th Congress, First Session. The DMV reports include the major rollcalls on which Republican House members cast the votes making the difference in final passage of a Democratic program.

The purpose of the DMV rating, says Chairman Ashbrook, is to prove the ACU's "case that the liberal Republicans in the House constitute a threat to Republican effectiveness . . . . The DMV is most effective because it clearly delineates between the regulars [in the House GOP bloc] and the renegades."

For its DMV rating of the recently adjourned session of Congress, ACU selected 15 issues on which Republican votes gave the Administration victory. The rollcalls included trade with the enemy, rent supplements, the $225-million Model Cities program, and $425-million food stamp program, foreign aid and federal aid to education.

Speaking of the Republicans who provided the Democratic Margin of Victory on major Administration spending bills, Rep. Ashbrook surmised that "many of these same GOP defectors who vote for expensive, nonessential programs such as rent supplements will

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be complaining about deficit spending, higher taxes, and inflation in election year 1968 . . . .

"Unless our Republican leaders exert pressures on these defectors, the spending programs of Lyndon Johnson will continue to go largely unchallenged."

The Republican House members who, according to the ACU, most often helped provide the Administration with legislative victories—and the number of times they did so—are:

Kupferman (N.Y.) 15 DMV votes; Reid (N.Y.) 15; Gude (Md.) 13; Halpern (N.Y.) 13; Horton (N.Y.) 12; Morse (Mass.) 12; Whalen (Ohio) 12; McDade (Pa.) 11; Schweiker (Pa.) 11; Stafford (Vt.) 11; Cahill (N.J.) 10; Conte (Mass.) 10; Dwyer (N.J.) 10; Fulton (Pa.) 10; Mathias (Md.) 10; Pirnie (N.Y.) 10; Widnall (N.J.) 10; Corbett (Pa.) 9; Heckler (Mass.) 9.

Also Button (N.Y.) 8; Dellenback (Ore.) 8; Esch (Mich.) 8; Frelinghuysen (N.J.) 8; Keith (Mass.) 8; Morton (Md.) 8; Mosher (Ohio) 8; Quie (Minn.) 8; Robison (N.Y.) 8; Bell (Calif.) 7; Biester (Pa.) 7; Brotzman (Colo.) 7; Harvey (Mich.) 7; Majlliard (Calif.) 7; Railsback (Ill.) 7; Ruppe (Mich.) 7; Smith (N.Y.) 7; Carter (Ky.) 6; MacGregor (Minn.) 6; Mayne (Iowa) 6; Pelly (Wash.) 6; Riegle (Mich.) 6; Taft (Ohio) 6.

'Senior Citizens' Front

The National Council of Senior Citizens recently threw up picket lines outside *Reader's Digest* offices throughout the country, protesting the magazine's "lies" about the Social Security program.

What had the *Digest* done? It had, first of all, run an article by Senior Editor Charles Stevenson, detailing the shaky financial structure on which the entire program is based. And it had refused to run a self-serving "rebuttal" by the Administration's Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Wilbur Cohen.

Actually, more was involved than the *Digest's* October article on Social Security. More than a year ago, the *Digest* had exposed the National Council of Senior Citizens as an Administration front that received heavy support from the Democratic party.

Associate Editor Kenneth O. Gilmore disclosed not only that the group had been set up by former Democratic Rep. Aime Forand, but that it had received approximately one-third of its budget from the Democratic National Committee.

Gilmore noted that the tax-exempt council claimed credit for the defeat of at least four Republican congressmen and had openly called for the the re-election of 55 "marginal" Democratic lawmakers in 1966.

But the group's blatant involvement in partisan politics has been studiously ignored by the Internal Revenue Service. Federal regulations specify that "participation in a political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to a candidate for public office will preclude tax exemption."

Otepka to Appeal

Mortgaging his home to pay heavy legal expenses, Otto F. Otepka last week appealed his State Department demotion to the Civil Service Commission. The former security officer, who earned the ire of Foggy Bottom bigwigs for supplying information to a Senate subcommittee, said the demotion was "contrary to the evidence, arbitrary and capricious."

OTEPKA

Otepka said that he would take the case to the Supreme Court, if necessary, but that the CSC appeal was the next legal step to exhaust all administrative remedies.

Otepka disputes the finding of the State Department hearing officer, Edward Dragon, that he violated a 1948 Executive Order in giving information to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. The Otepka appeal maintains that the Executive Order was invalidated by Congress later that same year. It argues further that Otepka's alleged misconduct is not defined by any State Department rule or regulation.

Otepka also argues that the new job to which he was assigned—at a $5,479-a-year reduction in pay—is not in keeping with Civil Service regulations requiring that government employes be assigned duties commensurate with their highest skills.

"The job requires me to prepare trite and elementary phrases in a department manual outlining the function of every division and subdivision in the department," says Otepka, a professional investigator who has received numerous departmental commendations for his security work.

Otepka's appeal asserts that the State Department ignored substantial evidence in his favor, "demonstrating that the charges against me were a subterfuge contrived pursuant to a wrongful scheme or design to harass or destroy me."

Demotion, says Otepka, "amounts to a finding that I am a security risk, since as a result I have been denied access to all classified action."

More Tax-Paid Lobbying

Even as Congress was handing the Administration a victory by passing the $1.7-billion "War on Poverty" appropriation in the last week of the session, Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) was exposing yet another incident of poverty workers engaging in overt political activities. In hearings on the poverty bill it had been found that, in virtually every major U.S. city, local employes of the Office of Economic Opportunity were engaging in political demonstrations, picketing and, sometimes, full-scale rioting.

GROSS

The example of poverty funds and offices being used for political purposes that Rep. Gross exposed involved putting pressure on Congress to make changes in another bill, the Social Security amendments. "I have been shocked to learn," Gross told his House colleagues, "that federal tax dollars, through the so-called 'War on Poverty,' apparently have been used to misinform welfare recipients regarding the contents" of the Social Security bill.

Gross then read a letter sent to women in his Iowa district who receive federal funds under the aid-to-dependent-children (ADC) program. The letter was signed by the president, vice president, secretary and treasurer of the Black Hawk County (Waterloo), Iowa, Mothers for Adequate Welfare, a group which had been established in large part by the Black Hawk County Legal Aid Society. The society is part of the national OEO legal services program and is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity to the tune of $66,000 per year.

The Waterloo Mothers for Adequate Welfare is also affiliated with a national organization known as the Poverty Rights Action Group, headquartered in Washington. Gross noted that a member of the board of directors of the group was Prof. Richard Cloward of Columbia University; Gross quoted an article co-authored by Cloward for the ultra-liberal *Nation* magazine in which Cloward wrote that "the right of income must be guaranteed or the oppression of the welfare poor will not be eliminated" and predicted a "crisis" ("disruption in some institutional sphere") would occur if the demands of welfare recipients were not met by Congress.

Some other members of the radical Poverty Rights Action Group gained national attention last September when a group of them sat for hours in the Senate Finance Committee hearing room, harranguing committee members, heaping abuse on Congress, and threatening a "holocaust in every city" unless the Senate dropped the House-passed restrictions on welfare doles.

"I am confident," Gross asserted, that voters "do not approve of the use of federal tax revenue to support the activities of the Mothers for Adequate Welfare when that group has affiliated with a radical national organization which apparently advocates revolution and threatens a 'holocaust in every city.' "

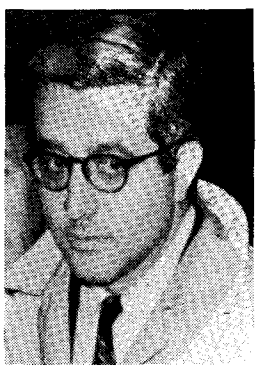
The letter sent by the welfare group and read in the House by Gross urged Iowa ADC mothers to oppose passage of the House version of the Social Security bill, saying the new welfare restrictions "mean that you are of no value to your children and that it would be better that you be taken out of the home to work or they be taken out of the home to work or they be taken from you than to have you care for your children as you are presently."

After reading this distortion Gross stated that he resented "this attempt to misinform welfare recipients regarding the purpose of the public assistance provisions of the bill." He went on to note that no mother, under the House version, would be taken from the home if her presence was needed and no child over 16 would be taken from school. (The House provisions were later modified in the Senate, in any event.)

But Gross' main objection to the letter was not its "misinforming" of ADC mothers. It was that federal tax dollars had been directly used to lobby Congress and create political pressure in favor of a legislative measure. The House had added an amendment preventing both poverty workers employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity and poverty benefit recipients from engaging in political activities; the proviso was later dropped by the Senate and was absent in the final measure. If activities such as Gross revealed continue, however, the political ban could well become law next year.

Lindsay Finished?

Capitol Hill is convinced that New York Mayor John Lindsay, the Mr. Clean of Modern Republicanism, has been seriously if not fatally injured by a massive scandal that ties one of his closest aides to the Cosa Nostra. Federal agents last week arrested Lindsay lieutenant James L. Marcus on charges of engineering a $40,000 kickback on a city contract. Sharing in the payoff, said a federal grand jury, was reputed crime boss Anthony (Tony Ducks) Corallo.



MARCUS

Marcus played a key role in Lindsay's successful 1965 campaign and was named a City Hall "troubleshooter" after Lindsay took over. Later he was promoted to the city's commissioner of water supply, gas and electricity. Slated to head a new "superagency," Marcus was known to be the city official closest to Lindsay. He resigned his commissioner's post five days before his arrest, citing "personal" considerations.

Marcus, it turns out, was a wheeler-and-dealer with heavy debts to Cosa Nostra loan sharks. Yet no investigation of his background was ever made prior to his appointment. Lindsay said lamely that this had been a "clerical error."

District Attorney Frank Hogan apparently feels that other "clerical errors" may have been made. The DA, it was learned, has three other city commissioners under intensive investigation, and federal officials report that the Cosa Nostra has made infiltration of the New York City government a major goal.

Reaction on the part of Lindsay's political foes was swift. Rep. John M. Murphy (D.-N.Y.), a possible mayoral opponent in 1969, termed the scandal "the inevitable result of Lindsay's apparent indifference to the unglamorous but constant supervision required to properly govern New York City."

Syndicated columnist William S. White noted that the Marcus case, with its Cosa Nostra tie-in, was far different from usual City Hall graft:

"This sort of thing, if established, would make the old-style graft of which both parties have sometimes been guilty appear almost a genial thing, the mischief of high-spirited schoolboys."

Conviction of Marcus, White said, would do "far more than sink without trace the presidential hopes which have been widely attributed to the mayor of Fun City. It would, in fact, shake and terrify the entire nation, and rightly so, to know that the almost indescribably evil tentacles of the Cosa Nostra had reached into the government of the biggest city in the United States."

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POLITICS '68

KANSAS

Rep. **Bob Dole** (R.-Kan.), a staunch conservative, will be among those seeking his party's senatorial nomination now that the veteran Frank Carlson has decided not to run for a fourth term next fall. A spirited primary is expected to choose a successor to the 74-year-old Carlson.

DOLE

Dole is one of three GOP congressmen eyeing the seat. Moderate **Garner Shriver** and conservative **Joe Skubitz** both are considering the race, although only Dole has made his interest known publicly.

Former Congressman **William Avery** is almost certain to enter the fray. Avery, a party "moderate," gave up his House seat to run for, and win, the governorship in 1964. He was defeated for re-election in 1966, one of the only two Republican governors to meet that fate that year. Other potential GOP candidates include former Gov. **John Anderson** and several members of the Kansas Legislature.

The likely Democratic nominee is first-term Gov. **George Robert Docking,** who defeated Avery last year. Docking, a political realist, would not oppose the popular Carlson. He is known to feel that if the Republicans come out of the primary badly split that a Democrat could capture the Senate seat.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

George Romney trails Richard Nixon 2 to 1 in the latest New Hampshire polls. The surveys, the accuracy of which is conceded in the Romney camp, indicate that the Michigan governor needs a **minor miracle** if he is to capture the pivotal first-in-the-nation presidential primary next March.

ROMNEY

Romney is counting on 37-year-old William Johnson to pull off that miracle. A Rockefeller backer in 1964, Johnson will bring Romney into the state in mid-January for a **"highly personalized" campaign** in which he will meet and greet as many voters as "humanly possible."

The Washington Post's Ward Just reports that Romney lieutenants will concentrate particularly on southern New Hampshire, which is not as strongly influenced by the conservative Manchester Union-Leader. That newspaper's publisher, **William Loeb**, is strongly anti-Romney and is said to "control" some 20,000 votes in a GOP primary.

The Nixon campaign will be in sharp contrast to the back-slapping, hand-shaking campaign of Romney. Nixon's will be **"issue-oriented,"** with the former vice president entering the state only to make major speeches. Nixon has overwhelming support from the state's GOP leaders. Seventy per cent of the GOP state legislators are backing him and organizations have been set up in all 238 towns throughout the state.

• Some observers, however, say Nixon is playing a **dangerous game.** They point out that much of his support is of the lukewarm, "least of several evils" variety and that by refusing to make the many personal appearances New Hampshirites have come to expect of candidates he runs the risk of losing a large portion of it.

• While the cast of characters for the Republican primary is pretty well set, no one is quite sure just who will enter the **Democratic fray.** Eugene McCarthy is considering the race, but is fearful that New Hampshire voters back the war.

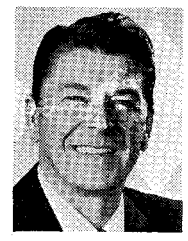
Johnson originally wanted Gov. John King or Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre to run as his stand-in, but has rejected the idea. He has instead authorized **Bernard L. Boutin,** former head of the Small Business Administration, to organize a mammoth **write-in campaign** in his behalf.

Both King and McIntyre are supporting the well-financed write-in drive. A 50-man advisory council has been set up, headquarters have been established in Manchester and assistant campaign managers are active in both congressional districts.

There remains the strong possibility that delegates "favorable" to **Robert Kennedy** will enter the primary. Kennedy has asked them not to run, but the Bobbyphiles have said they will run anyway.

GOP POLLS

By more than 2 to 1, the nation's **Republican county chairmen** favor Richard Nixon for the GOP presidential nomination. Support for Michigan Gov. George Romney is all but non-existent.



REAGAN

Pollster George Gallup reports that 52 per cent of the GOP leaders back Nixon, a slight decline from April when 57 per cent supported his nomination. California Gov. **Ronald Reagan's support** has increased from 11 to 24 per cent and New York Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller's** from 3 to 14 per cent.

The big loser is **Romney,** the party's only announced candidate. In April the Michigan governor held the loyalty of 16 per cent of the county chairmen, a figure that has dwindled to 5 per cent. Freshman Sen. **Charles Percy** (R.-Ill.) also saw his support drop, from 6 to 2 per cent.

Nixon is favored in every section of the country but the East, where Rockefeller holds a 1 per cent lead. Reagan has his greatest support in the South, but even there Nixon tops him by nearly 2 to 1.

NCEC

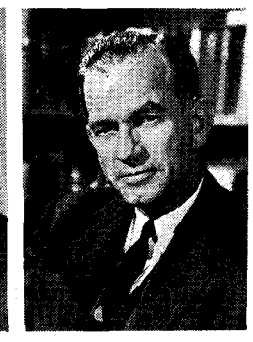
The ultra-liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress is seeking a $700,000 war chest to aid the re-election campaigns of nine **Senate doves** —two Republicans and seven Democrats.

The NCEC money will go to Republicans Thruston Morton (Ky.) and George Aiken (Vt.) and Democrats Frank Church (Idaho), Joseph Clark (Pa.), J. W. Fulbright (Ark.), Ernest Gruening (Alaska), George McGovern (S.D.), Wayne Morse (Ore.) and Gaylord Nelson (Wis.).

An **NCEC fund appeal** was recently mailed to nearly 200,000 liberal fat cats throughout the country. Signed by historians Henry Steele Commager and Barbara W. Tuchman, the letter lauds the nine for their Viet Nam views.

"This small group of men has turned the national spotlight on the peril of the expanding military venture in Viet Nam. They have successfully resisted the attempt to identify as disloyal those dissenters who have dared criticize the war

MORTON



FULBRIGHT

policy. . . . Because of this, they have been singled out as the target of the extremists. The defeat of any one of these men would greatly strengthen the right-wing and war hawk elements of both parties."

NCEC Executive Director Russell Hemenway told the New York Times that the group had **raised $200,000** thus far and hopes to raise another $500,000 in coming months. "Can you imagine what the Senate would be like without all of these men?" he asked. "If we lose these men, we will lose the **liberal heart of the Senate**. The quality of government would be very seriously affected."

HOUSE ELECTION?

Speculation continues that the 1968 presidential campaign may be settled in the **House of Representatives.**

With **George Wallace** apparently committed to a third-party candidacy, there is a possibility that no presidential nominee will have a majority in the electoral college. Thus, for the first time in 144 years, the House would choose the President from the top three contenders. This would be done not by the individual congressmen, but by state delegations. Each state would cast one vote, with Nevada and New York, for instance, having equal strength.

Republicans now have a majority in only 18 delegations, while Democrats claim 29 states. Three states—Illinois, Oregon and Montana—have evenly split delegations, meaning they would have no voice at all choosing the President. But the situation for the GOP could improve, as political editor George Tagge of the Chicago Tribune reports:

"Switching one seat from 'Dem' to 'Rep' in seven states would do the trick for the GOP. Besides the Illinois, Oregon and Miami trio, these states are Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Nevada."

House GOP leader Gerald Ford notes that there are **11 states** where a Republican pick-up of only one seat would tie the count and deny the use of that vote to the Democrats in a House contest for President. They are Virginia, Arkansas, Colorado, Maryland, Oklahoma, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Hawaii, Rhode Island, Alabama and Maine.

● A leading Alabama Democrat has called on former Gov. **George C. Wallace** to give up his third-party efforts and seek his political advancement "within the party that has been so good to him."

Roy Mayhall, a state judge who is a member of the state Democratic Committee, uttered these **words of advice** to Wallace recently before the Young Men's Business Club of Birmingham.

Mayhall, who is a former two-term state party chairman, also tried to disabuse fellow Alabamians as to **Wallace's conservatism.** While the ex-governor professes to be a conservative, Mayhall said, "his fiscal policies have been extremely liberal. While he was in office, the tax burden on Alabamians has more than doubled." State indebtedness, he stressed, "is far more" per capita in Alabama than on the federal level.

NORTH CAROLINA

Altered by redistricting, swept by anti-LBJ sentiment and marked by surging Republican strength since the 1966 elections, **North Carolina** next year may wind up with the majority of its 11-man congressional delegation in GOP hands and a conservative Republican in the statehouse.

GARDNER

Politicos predict that the GOP will pick up three or **four House seats** in addition to the three the party currently holds. (In the newly created 5th District, the Republicans may even nominate another athlete: Wilbur "Vinegar Bend" Mizell, former St. Louis Cardinal pitching ace, now chairman of the Davidson County Commission.)

Two conservative Republicans will probably slug it out for the gubernatorial nomination. One is Rep. **James Gardner**, 34, a rising power in state politics who represents the young breed of GOP activists in eastern North Carolina. The other is **Jack L. Stickley**, a 64-year-old former president of the International Association of Lions Clubs, who comes from the western part of the state. Gardner would face a tough time getting nominated, since most of the state's 350,000 registered Republicans live in the west. But many Republicans might stick with Gardner in the belief that he is more vigorous and would be a more formidable campaigner against probable Democratic nominee Lt. Gov. Robert Scott.

NOTES

• Maryland Gov. **Spiro T. Agnew** appears, at least publicly, to be backtracking somewhat on his support of **Nelson Rockefeller** for the GOP presidential nomination. Agnew now says he favors either a Rockefeller-Reagan or a Reagan-Rockefeller ticket. What makes Agnew's support of Reagan interesting is that the Maryland governor is considered a leading GOP "moderate."

• Iowa Gov. **Harold Hughes,** a Democrat, has announced his candidacy for the Senate seat occupied by veteran Sen. **Bourke Hickenlooper** (R.-Iowa). Hickenlooper, 71, has not yet indicated if he will seek a fifth term next fall. He faces primary opposition from State Sen. David Stanley.

• **Jacqueline Kennedy** helped raise nearly $200,000 for the New York State Democratic Committee with a personal appearance at a recent $500-a-plate dinner. Political columnist Ernest Cuneo, writing in the Philadelphia Bulletin, said that Jackie's appearance "signals an open war on the candidacy of President Johnson by the Kennedys."

• Rep. **George V. Hansen** (R.-Idaho) is reported ready to challenge dovish Sen. **Frank Church** for re-election. Hansen, a solid conservative, is a strong vote-getter. In 1964 he was the only Northern Republican to defeat an incumbent Democratic congressman.

• Democratic Sen. **Vance Hartke** says he is actively considering becoming a favorite-son challenger to LBJ in the Indiana presidential primary. Hartke, however, says he wouldn't make the race if Johnson appeared too tough to beat. Indiana's other senator, Birch Bayh, has already pledged to back the President.

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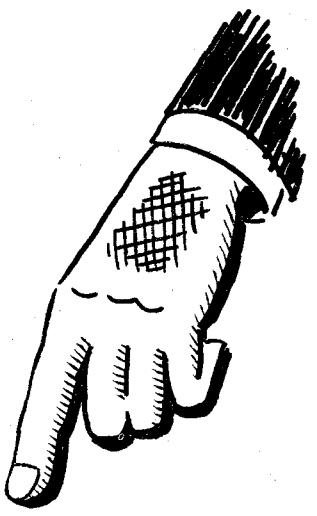

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California's Gov. Ronald Reagan, with his wife Nancy, answers questions from students and faculty during his recent Yale appearance. Most observers feel Reagan handled the issues well as a Chubb Fellow.

Gov. Reagan in the Ivy League

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Gov. Ronald Reagan's four-day visit to Yale University as a Chubb Fellow has come and gone, but the melody lingers on. Some of the more radical students—led, appropriately enough, by a sophomore— had planned to make things rough for him, but he gave them better than he got, aided by a youthful traitor who slipped him some of the more loaded questions in advance so that he could be primed for them.

If there is anyone better in the United States at mollifying an opponent than Ronald Reagan, I'd like to know his name. The boys tried to corner the California governor by imputing to him some most ungenerous ends. He was "against the poor" because he had vetoed federal anti-poverty programs. He was against "academic freedom" because of his attitude to the Berkeley rebellion. He was a fit candidate for the dock at some future Nuremberg trial because he wanted to intensify the war in Viet Nam. He was for selling young bodies without qualms into the involuntary servitude that results from the draft.

But in every case, Reagan turned back his young would-be tormenters by showing them that they were confusing ends with means. If California did not welcome certain federal anti-poverty projects, it was because it had a better way of dealing with such problems as unemployment in the Watts ghetto. If he was for intensifying the Viet Nam war, it was because he was a peaceful fellow who wanted to get it over with.

As for the draft, he had regretfully, to take the side of Yale's President Kingman Brewster, who had condemned Gen. Lewis Hershey's order to local draft boards to induct students as a penalty for exercising free speech about government compulsion in a war they consider immoral. Reagan said that emotionally, he could feel for Gen. Hershey, but as he told Prof. Thomas Bergin, his Chubb Fellow host at Yale's Timothy Dwight College, he would prefer—at least in peacetime—a voluntary professional army.

Reagan was closeted for a long time with President Kingman Brewster, and it may be assumed that the subject of academic freedom at Berkeley was mentioned. To a bigger audience, Reagan told rueful stories about his adventures with some of the more fanatical academic freedom advocates in California. For example, the governor, as a member of the University of California Board of Regents, had discovered that the state university system—it consists of nine separate campuses—was paying $200 more for automobiles than the state government happened to be paying for its own cars.

But when he suggested that the universities and the state might consolidate their automotive purchases, the howl went up that he was infringing academic freedom.

Despite the criticism that he is meddling in the university administrators' own business, Reagan is on the warpath against a system under which one university has been paying $1.50 a pound for lavatory chemicals while another has been buying the same product for twenty-eight cents a pound.

If Reagan had visited Yale 10, five or even two years ago, he would have found a far more active conservative element to welcome him. And the leftists would have been more content to let him talk.

When Barry Goldwater was a Chubb Fellow, there was far less militant objection to his appearance. The rules of the Chubb Fellowship game, as interpreted by Prof. Bergin in his official capacity of umpire, hold that public figures of varying philosophical hue should be presented to the students for inspection and fraternizing. Prof. Bergin is personally a liberal, but he has held to a fair balance in his Chubb Fellowship invitations.

There has been a Socialist Lord Attlee at one time, a libertarian Barry Goldwater at another. But in this most intolerant year of 1967, poor Prof. Bergin, a Dante scholar who would gladly see the U.S. decamp from the Viet Nam inferno tomorrow, has found himself the butt of many of his liberal colleagues for giving the Yale students the opportunity of seeing and conversing with an able conservative governor who may very well be a candidate for President.

It's been a salutary lesson for Prof. Bergin. Now he knows that when modern "liberals" talk about the right of free speech, they mean it in a strictly tribal sense. Prof. Bergin had better be careful to make someone like Stokely Carmichael or Ho Chi Minh his next Chubb Fellow, or he will find himself locked out of the lodge forever by his own liberal tribal peers.

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Prediction: No Income Tax Boost Before April 1

By PAUL SCOTT

Taxpayers are going to receive a belated Christmas gift from Congress in 1968.

Despite President Johnson's urgent appeal for immediate action next year on his 10 per cent surtax proposal, no income tax increase will go into effect before April 1, and maybe not even then.

Several compelling reasons are behind this certainty.

One is that Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), powerful chairman of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee, and a majority of the committee are adamantly against any tax increase being made effective January 1, as the Administration now wants.

Another is that Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, is also against making any tax boost retroactive in an election year.

Both Mills and Long have privately agreed to delay further hearings on the President's revised tax boost-spending cut plan until after the Administration's fiscal 1969 budget is sent to Congress—and that won't be until mid-February.

This timetable could delay final congressional action on the President's tax proposal until late in March—or too late to make it effective before April 1, unless the tax boost is made retroactive.

In talks with congressional and Administration leaders, Rep. Mills has bluntly warned them not to expect earlier action.

"I want assurance," Mills said, "that government expenditures in 1969 will not rise by the same dollar amount that expenditures have risen during the past two years. Other members of the committee want several weeks to study that budget."

Rep. Mills, who is determined there will be no tax rise without an equal spending cut, also made clear his opposition to a retroactive raise:

"There is no enthusiasm in the committee for making the 10 per cent surtax retroactive. I am opposed to the January 1 date. The best the Administration can hope for, if there is a tax increase, is that it will become effective when signed by the President. Otherwise, you may have a taxpayers' revolt at the polls."

A similar position is being taken by Senate Democratic Whip Long, who has notified the White House he won't hold hearings on the President's tax proposal until he sees what Mills' committee does.

"Increasing taxes isn't going to make the Democratic party very popular in an election year," Sen. Long stressed at a recent White House meeting of Democratic legislative leaders. "When it comes, the tax hike must be as painless as possible, and that rules out making it retroactive."

When the other lawmakers indicated agreement, the President replied: "You gentlemen write the tax laws; I just propose them."

The prospect that another tax increase might be sought in 1969 was raised recently during the House Ways and Means Committee hearings on the President's spending cut-tax package.

Largely unnoted by the press, the suggestion was made by Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin Jr. while being quizzed by Chairman Mills, as follows:

Mills: "How long do you think it would be before the tax increase would take effect on our adverse balance of payments?"

Highlighting public aversion to a tax increase was the appearance on Capitol Hill of William Jackman, president of the Investors League. Jackman (left) delivered petitions against the increase to Representatives Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) and John W. Byrnes (R.-Wis.).

Martin: "In terms of psychology and confidence, I think the passage of the tax bill and the President's program would have immediate effect. But this would not cure the patient. You might have to have another move later."

Mills: "In other words, we would have to have another tax bill a little later?"

After the hearing Mills asked Martin if he thought a second tax increase might be requested by the Administration in 1968.

"No," replied Martin. "Probably in 1969."

Martin also privately admitted that even if Congress passed the proposed 10 per cent surtax next year, prices could be expected to rise at about the same rate as in 1967.

★ ★ ★

Betty Furness, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs, is becoming the Johnson Administration's No. 1 political campaigner.

Since being sworn in last May for her $26,000-a-year White House job, Miss Furness has delivered more speeches than any other Administration official. Some weeks she has delivered as many as five.

From President Johnson's viewpoint, the 51-year-old former TV personality has been such a smash hit on the road that he plans to keep her on the campaign trail throughout most of 1968.

In a phone call to Democratic National Chairman John Bailey, the President instructed him to give Miss Furness a prominent role in the 1968 campaign and to reserve a choice spot for the former TV star on the party's convention program.

Since her appointment, Betty Furness, LBJ's assistant for consumer affairs, has made more political speeches than any other Administration official.

According to a White House aide, the President likes her partisan approach in selling his consumer protection program and surtax proposal.

In speech after speech across the country, Miss Furness has told housewives they can be sure of protection in the market only if they put their trust in the President and the Democratic party. Everyone knows, she says, Republicans are against protection of the consumer.

In supporting the President's controversial tax proposal, Miss Furness calls on housewives to support the measure as the better of two evils.

"Otherwise there may be a 5 per cent rise in prices," she warns. "The surcharge would not affect people with incomes of less than $5,000. And when it is no longer needed a surtax can be repealed, but inflation cannot. That's the Democratic approach to a difficult situation."

President Johnson, in reading from this and other Furness speeches, recently lectured members of his Cabinet, stating:

"This is the type of hard-hitting campaign that brings in the votes. Everyone should study her speeches and style. She's a glamorous Truman. We are going to keep her out front in the campaign."

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THAT EMPTY FEELING—"In typical knee jerk fashion Gardner Ackley, head of the President's council of economic advisers, cried 'inflation' when steel prices were raised and said he did not see the reason why. The answer was swift, pertinent and educational. Said Roger Blough, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel: 'When government spends more than it gets and when labor gets more than it gives, that empty feeling in your pockets is inflation. Since the end of 1958 the price of finished steel has gone up 4 per cent while the over-all cost of living has gone up 16 per cent, or four times as much.' Next question, Mr. Ackley?"—From the San Diego *Union*

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King Promises Springtime Pandemonium for Nation's Capital

'A last desperate attempt' to force Congress to provide 'jobs or income for all'

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(George S. Schuyler, the outspoken Negro conservative, has been a newspaperman for over half a century. Many of his articles have appeared in Human Events. *He is also the author of* Black No More *and* Black But Conservative.)

Dr. Martin Luther King's premature Christmas present to long-suffering America is the prospect of a repetition of last summer's arson, guerrilla warfare and general pandemonium.

Fresh from serving a five-day sentence in a Birmingham jail for inciting the riots that inflamed that city, the Nobel Peace Prize-winner has met with his peripatetic parsons to map new racial war. Understandably unskilled in the rudiments of pugilism, the learned doctor always telegraphs his punches, as he did last summer at the annual conference of his Southern Christian (sic) Leadership Conference (SCLC) when he threatened a campaign of civil disobedience in all major cities from coast to coast.

At Frogmore, S.C., and Atlanta, Ga., at inevitable press conferences, the Prince of Peace in technicolor narrowed his forewarned campaign to Washington, the Nation's Capital, come early April 1968 to force Congress and the Administration to provide "jobs or income for all."

According to the King blueprint (reminiscent of barrels of Communist prescriptions for national strife and strain uncovered back in 1922 in Michigan by the FBI), the shock troops numbering some 3,000 trained and disciplined demonstrators will arrive in Washington around cherry blossom time.

Protesters from 10 major cities and five rural areas will begin a "strong, dramatic and attention-getting campaign" both at the Capitol and the White House. Admitting the campaign will be "risky" (the understatement of the year), the learned agitator says "not to act represents moral irresponsibility."

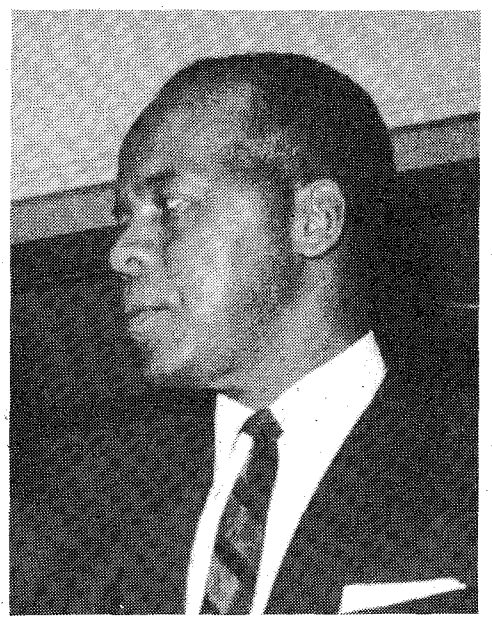
It seems that "angry and bitter people" (unspecified) are in an ugly mood, and will respond to nonviolence (nonviolence!) "if it's militant enough, if its really doing something." The Baptist Bonaparte did not hesitate to say what this "something" would be: "The worst chaos, hatred and violence any nation has ever encountered." Glancing down Memory Lane, that's saying a mouthful. It all leads us to believe that Stalin's purges and Mao's cultural revolution will pale into insignificance by comparison.

King's aides have not neglected the logistics of the campaign. Since many of the protesters will "march on Washington," they will camp out in and around the metropolis on the Potomac. They will be fed from "soup kitchens" organized for them by the militant churches of the city (presumably an interracial effort).

Reminiscent of Viet Cong tactics, the SCLC cohorts are thinking of tying up transportation, staging school boycotts (93 per cent of Washington's school population is colored), and picketing government installations. Citing the high incidence of infant mortality among Negroes, one King subordinate has enthusiastically suggested jamming the capital's hospitals with waves of sick youngsters.

All of the professional militants will participate, including "all Americans of good will." Among these goodwillers will be the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (which must "pledge nonviolence for the duration") and, of course, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. The services of the latter's Dr. Spock will come in handy when the mobilized sick Negro infants are too many for the crowded local hospitals to handle.

So here we are, right back to Coxey's Army of the turn of the century and the Bonus Army of the Depression; except that King's commandos are seeking perpetual subsidy rather than a bonus. Many of them are already being bribed with anti-poverty jobs and funds to keep the peace, and are sure to be present at any demonstration, violent or nonviolent.



Washington, D.C. firebrand Julius Hobson will undoubtedly join the King-led protest.

Martin Luther King's plans for springtime in Washington include school boycotts, tying up transportation and possibly flooding already understaffed hospitals with sick children.

However, in all fairness to the Nobel laureate, let it be said that he is not alone in threatening more turmoil in the streets, which has led to police and firemen wearing armor and the enrichment of the plate glass companies.

The welkin all over the land has been ringing with the ululations of the professional and self-appointed Negro spokesmen. In late October, after disrupting a District of Columbia Board of Education meeting, Julius W. Hobson, an economist parked on the federal payroll, boomed out: "Nothing is changed in this country by osmosis. Things are changed when we get out in the street and raise hell from Mexico to Maine and from Atlantic to Pacific."

Similar agitators on and off our campuses are as voluble and eager as the "Prophet of Peace." In New York they are demanding that Swahili be taught in the schools instead of Latin. In Los Angeles the Black Students Union (BSU) is demanding that Afro-Americans be called "black" instead of "Negro" while almost everywhere there is advocacy of every thinkable crackpot nuisance from Negroes boycotting the Olympic games of 1968 to "rent-pocketing" by "ghetto" tenants. In New York where schools have been integrated for 70 years, the New York Urban League and the Harlem Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in a sudden *volte-face,* announce that they will ask the state legislature for a separate (Jim Crow) school system for Harlem. Of course this is becoming increasingly academic as whites and well-heeled blacks rush to the suburbs.

Dr. King and his white and colored mercenaries are obsessed with what they call "the Negro mood" (which would apply only to a minuscule minority of Negroes); but unfortunately are much less concerned with the Caucasian mood. The latter today is not characterized by sweetness and light. The euphoria or expected interracial Valhalla has declined with each succeeding "long, hot summer."

To be sure, finances for the "Negro revolution" still flow from the coffers of a few of our big tax-exempt funds and foundations in an irresponsible manner which must cause their founders to whirl in their tombs; but now some of the more generous Jewish, Catholic and leftist laborites are clutching their wallets more tightly.

The latest Gallup Poll should give all but the paranoids pap to ponder. It showed that white attitudes toward Negroes had hardened with the recurring riots and violence. One person in three feels differently about Negroes than he did a few months ago; 54 per cent are opposed to "open housing" and other extreme demands. Only the mentally myopic could not see this coming when the uproars of the early '60s were incipient.

Will the King Kolored Krusade succeed in the face of this new white mood? This is a question that should cause thoughtful Negroes to cogitate. President Johnson, aware of the conspiratorial character of the "revolution," does not plan to preside over the liquidation of the American nation or sit fiddling in the White House while Washington burns. He can as easily mobilize 25,000 troops to discourage a militant invasion of Washington as he did to stem the onrush of King's pacifist pals to the Pentagon.

Dr. King had better believe that.

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Dr. King's plan to lead a campaign of civil disobedience in Washington, D.C., next spring was criticized last week in New York City by an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Speaking on the WHN radio program, "New York Speaks Out," the official, Dr. John A. Morsell, predicted that such a protest would not only lead to violence but also would bring repressive measures.

"The time might come when this is the only approach left . . . when insurrection is in order," Dr. Morsell said, "but I do not see that point as having been reached. This [civil disobedience] would be met with as insurrection and put down as such and that would lead to violence."

Commenting on the King plan to interfere with the functioning of the federal government, Dr. Morsell said, "I don't think you can pressure Congress by sitting down in congressional offices or by creating disturbances or by interfering with the flow of traffic or what. I think the results are more likely to be just the opposite."

Dr. Morsell emphasized he was only expressing a personal opinion and pointed out that Dr. King had not formally asked the NAACP to participate in the demonstration.

Goldwater: King Renounces Rational Action

"Martin Luther King has taken another giant stride toward proving himself a pious fraud.

"He first tried to capitalize on his fame as a fighter for racial justice in building a new force to oppose the war in Viet Nam. He lately is trying to capitalize on his old reputation as an advocate of peaceful protest in building a new political force based quite candidly on violence and the blackmail threat of violence.

"By taking these steps, King has renounced the last shred of respect he may have won when he was working so memorably in the field of fairness for Negroes. . . .

"When it comes to honestly constructive activities, such as job training or motivating people to take the literally millions of jobs already available to those willing to seek them, the King voice is silent. Only when it comes to mob action is the King energy fully mobilized.

"His current plans to assault Washington are described in his new prose of violence as 'a last desperate attempt' to get what he wants. If it fails, it is implicit in his statements, he pledges an escalation of violence. The fact that he considers even his initial plans, of physically blocking buildings, to be nonviolent shows how far down the road he is already.

"Actually, he has become another rioter, renouncing everything rational and running shouting into the street to get what he can grab."—Barry Goldwater

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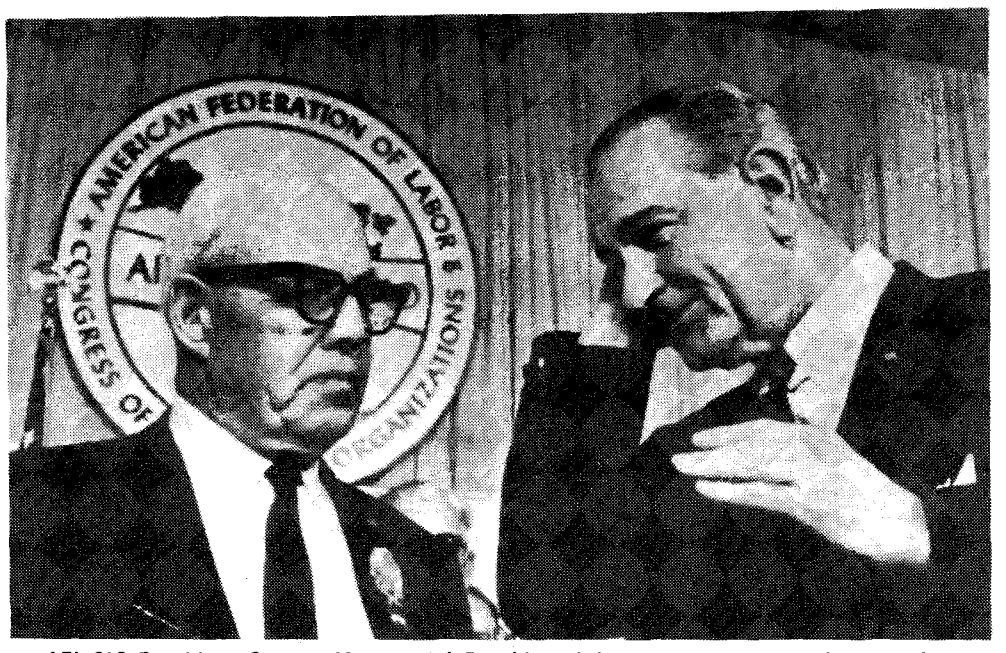

AFL-CIO President George Meany and President Johnson exchange greetings as the President prepared to address Bal Harbour convention. Meany has endorsed LBJ for re-election and Johnson has returned the favor by pushing for pro-labor legislation.

Joe Bierne, head of the Communications Workers of America, is one of the men charged with raising the Political war chest.

Big Labor Plans to Spend $25 Million to Re-Elect LBJ

By VICTOR RIESEL

Bal Harbour, Fla.:—American labor will open its pocketbook as well as its heart for Lyndon Johnson and will spend some $25 million in a drive to re-elect him next year.

That's the estimate of some of the new hard-hitting four-man committee of labor leaders appointed here to raise the millions needed by the massive union federation's Committee on Political Education (COPE). This new political action high command is made up of the Communication Workers' Joe Beirne, the Retail Clerks' Jim Suffridge, the Seafarers' Paul Hall and Steel's I.W. Abel.

In a historic sense, theirs has been the real AFL-CIO 7th Constitutional Convention despite the furor over foreign policy, the fight-to-the-finish copper strike and the clipping of Walter Reuther's right and left wings.

One of them reminded this correspondent that "as Arthur Goldberg once said, the one thing labor can't stand is a neutral in the White House."

Of the $25 million, some $8 to $10 million will be raised and spent in cash—directly in political contributions to Mr. Johnson's campaign committees and Democratic running mates all the way down the congressional line. And indirectly for publicity in all media, electronic and printed.

The publicly announced quote for COPE itself merely is the "collection of funds dollar by dollar." COPE's quota may run only as much as $3 million. The rest will be spent by the 126 national unions (with the exception of the United Auto Workers) and a great many of the AFL-CIO's 60,000 locals.

Much of this COPE money has already been pledged. There was a meeting, for example, of some 20 union chiefs with AFL-CIO President George Meany here in the Hotel Americana on December 4. In a few hours, after some discussion of the hole left by Reuther's refusal to pay the auto union's $190,000 annual COPE quota, the union leaders pledged some $400,000.

And there's much more to come. The four-man committee has divided up the federation's big unions and will seek a quota from each for the political cash register.

Labor's high command believes that Richard Nixon will be the opponent—and the AFL-CIO strategists are looking with pleasure to their second fight against him.

"He's the most likely candidate," said one of the most influential of American labor leaders. "He has enough IOUs inside the Republican party to give him the bulk of the delegates to their national convention and after all, it's the delegates who count."

But despite the big financial barrage which will be heaved at the Republican nominee, whoever he is, the real bulk of the $25 million will be spent by the national unions as they convert themselves virtually into a network of political headquarters across the nation. Thus, in a presidential campaign year politics becomes "a priority commitment." A union with five or 600 field representatives and a big national office staff throws them all into the campaign, along with car caravans, doorbell ringing squads, thousands of telephoners making millions of calls, and other activities, including huge mailings and the use of union-owned or operated computers.

And it's all charged to the union treasury.

Furthermore, this year labor's tacticians are taking a new twist. They're going in for "Community COPEs." They plan to set up "Ad Hoc COPEs" in thousands of suburbs. In fact, they have already begun in Alabama, Indiana, and "near Chicago and Milwaukee," they reported.

COPE's new strategy is to make these new machines mean "to the community what the grievance committee is to the work-place." The new strategy is to avoid using proletarian jargon or a class-conscious appeal. Instead, the new labor units will seek to fight on such matters as local bond issues, stop lights, freeways and zoning regulations.

Tied in with this drive is a new campaign directed by the AFL-CIO's Education Department. Its instructions are to reach the "new membership." At least 25 per cent of the movement now is under 30 years of age and 50 per cent is under 40 years.

It will take money to reach and impress them. It will take money, too, say the political strategists, to wipe out the "apathy of the Negro vote" where the issues are not as dramatic as they were recently in Gary and Cleveland.

The money will be raised, but President Johnson is not getting a blank check. There are those such as the United Steelworkers' vice president, Joseph Molony, who believe the White House has not backed labor as strongly as it should.

Molony, an eloquent man, now the operational chief of the 26-union coordinated strike in the nonferrous metal and refining industry, took to the convention stage and, at the end of an impassioned attack on the industrialists, said:

"Some years ago in a situation not unlike the one we now find ourselves in, President Truman did not flinch seizing the steel industry and running up the American flag over its plants and mines." In 1962 when the steel producers attempted to raise prices $5 a ton, President Kennedy "knew what to do," said Molony. "He brought the steel industry to its senses in a hurry. . . ."

The implication was obvious. President Johnson is not being the friend which Mr. Truman and the late Jack Kennedy were. There was much of this sort of talk.

But it won't keep the campaign money from flowing.

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Francis Cardinal Spellman: 1889 - 1967

By the REV. DANIEL LYONS, S.J.

On his last Christmas trip to the Orient I first met Cardinal Spellman in Bangkok, where a lunch was hosted by the U.S. commanding general. The Cardinal was graciousness personified, and he always seemed to have difficulty concealing a smile. His many trips to join our servicemen abroad endeared him to our men.

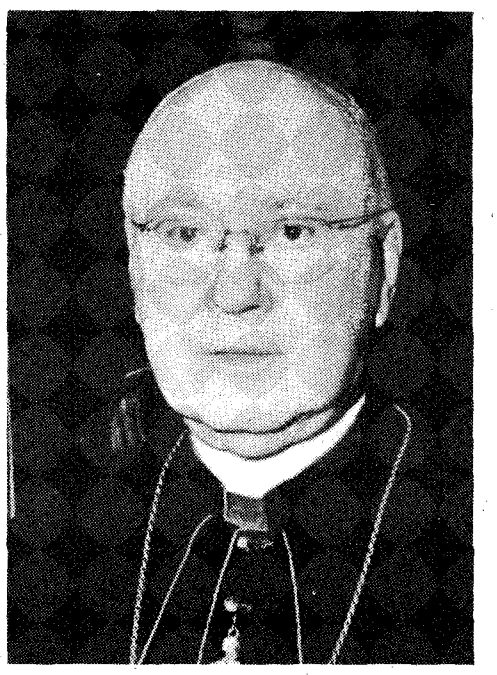
After Cardinal Spellman gave his Christmas sermon in Saigon he was erroneously quoted in the world press as having called for "total victory" and "all-out victory." He did not use either phrase. This was clear to those who heard the sermon. It was also clear to Father Patrick O'Connor and others afterwards who checked a tape of the sermon.

I preceded Cardinal Spellman to Taiwan, and was at the airport to meet him. His legs were far from steady as he descended from the plane, but he carefully walked around to meet each of the 50 Chinese children in the band that greeted him. At noon he offered Mass at St. Christopher's Church in Taipei, which he had helped provide near the American base. Afterwards he asked that everyone in the church come up to meet him in the sanctuary. He met them all, kindly and patiently, with no thought of his own fatigue.

I had dinner that night with Cardinal Spellman at the residence of President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. He told his hosts and long-time admirers how much he had always enjoyed visiting the Far East and spending Christmas with the troops.

He explained slowly, with simple and touching eloquence: "I thought I might not be able to come this year. My legs are no good, my hearing is no good, and my eyes are no good, and I did not want to embarrass anyone or cause any inconvenience to anybody by dying on the journey."

President Chiang stood up at dinner to give a toast. But he was much too diplomatic to toast the Cardinal first. "I want to give a toast," he said, "to Pope Paul VI!" That, he knew, would please the Cardinal most. When dinner was over, Madame Chiang hurried to take his right arm, while a servant took his left. Cardinal Spellman remarked simply and pleasantly: "I just need about three more assistants!" As I left that night, Madame Chiang said to me with tears of admiration: "You certainly have a wonderful Cardinal!"



The late Cardinal Spellman.

The next morning Cardinal Spellman visited the orphanage founded by Madame Chiang, and gave his customary $5,000 for the orphans. On the way back to Taipei he accompanied Archbishop Pau Yu Pin to Fu Jen Catholic University. "I did not know you had such a big place," he said, and he left $5,000 there.

Cardinal Spellman is credited with being the man most responsible for bringing American Catholicism to the attention of the world, and for making it a major factor in church councils. Yet former Mayor Wagner testified that the Cardinal never tried in any way to influence a political appointment.

Cardinal Spellman was a priestly priest and a man after God's own heart. He spent the last 25 years away from the comforts of home at Christmas time in order to bring comfort to troops around the world. Despite his infirmities he had hoped to do the same this year. Instead, God took him Home for Christmas.

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For Conservative Masochists Only

Spending a Morning With the New York 'Times'

By FREDERIC NELSON

A morning with the New York *Times* is no way to refresh the conservative's "cool." If it wasn't for Russell Baker and Hanson Baldwin, I'd consider getting on without it. Still there are intervals of high, if unconscious, comedy—like the *Times* account of the activities of two of Mayor Lindsay's representatives during one of New York's anti-Viet Nam demonstrations.

Editorially, of course, the *Times* gave full support to the antics of these characters, but the newspaper's news description of Rosencrantz and Guilderstern, or whatever their names were, clad in their "mod" clothes, running back and forth between cops and robbers, ought to have been good for a parcel of laughs, except that nobody seems able to laugh any more, especially at anything funny.

Such delights are, to be sure, rare. More typical is the issue of the *Times* for Sunday, December 10, a goldmine for Tory masochists. Take for example an article in the Sunday magazine called "The Cop's 'Right' to Frisk." The writer picks from the news three items which are, in this cockeyed era, supposed to raise questions. Here's one:

"A New York policeman, at home in his apartment, collars a suspicious-looking characrer tiptoeing down the corridor and frisks him for weapons. He finds burglar tools instead. Can they be used against the prowler in court?"

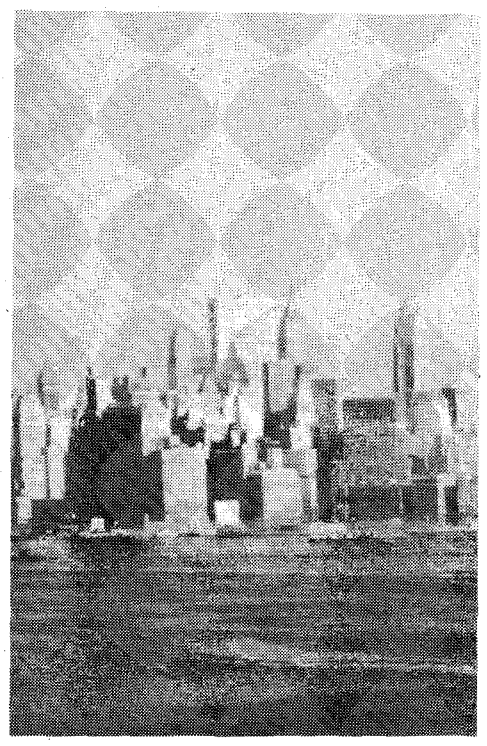
Reductio ad absurdum would go something like this:

A policeman stops an automobile which he suspects is carrying illegal liquor. On opening the trunk all he finds is the corpse of the driver's mother-in-law. April Fool, Copper! Can the woman's body be used against the man? Well, the answer isn't obvious. Another case postulated in the *Times* piece has been solved already. It was the case of the cop who, when challenging a suspected dope pusher, reached in the man's pocket expecting to find a knife. Instead he pulled out a package of heroin. "Can the heroin be used as evidence to convict the man of possessing narcotics?" asks the *Times* writer.

It appears not. At any rate, Brooklyn's District Attorney Aaron Koota appeared before the Supreme Court on the Monday to apologize for permitting what looks like the "instant case" mentioned in the *Times* article to get up there at all!

The prisoner had pleaded guilty and *the officer had found the heroin on* him, but the D.A. had a "humiliating confession to make." The guy had been convicted! Looks like a Day of National Atonement was called for.

How this works out for the ordinary citizen, who is more likely to be "frisked" by a mugger than by a policeman, is suggested in a page one *Times* story on the same day.



It seems that John Train, who I believe is the son of fiction writer Arthur Train (*Tutt and Mr. Tutt*), saw a man steal three pieces of luggage from a parked car and make off in a taxi. Two nights later Mr. Train saw the same thief in the street, hailed a police car and saw the man hustled off to the station house. In less than an hour the fellow was turned loose because, as Mr. Train explained to a straight-faced *Times* reporter, "under the conditions the police must work now they could do nothing."

It seems the owner of the luggage refused to make a complaint and "the man could not be held on the word of a witness; there had to be a complaint."

Footnote: In the first 10 months of 1967, 20,083 thefts from cars of property valued at more than $100 were reported to the police. Any questions?

Passing by with averted eyes a dope story of how "moderate" Republican governors are plotting to gang up on the GOP convention to avert a disaster like the nomination of Ronald Reagan, I come to a three-quarter-page ad paid for by a group calling itself the Medical Committee for Human Rights. This outfit, which includes some people who ought to know better—if they knew what they were signing—takes the position that "health is a human right" which, one gathers from the tone of the ad, has been denied "all the people" by the American Medical Association.

The trigger for all this seems to be a statement by the president of AMA defending capitalism. Anyway, the AMA is accused of, or credited with, having "dominated the health care of our country" for half a century. Some might ask where in the world health care is better than in this benighted U.S.A., or how much better it would be without capitalism. Socialists live on the earnings of capitalism but, as in the old song about the parents of the girl who "went wrong,"

> "drink the champagne that she sends them, but they Never Can Forgive."

Finally the MCFHR comes clean and declares that "health professionals have a social responsibility not limited to curing disease; by virtue of their experience in science, human behavior and community leadership they are uniquely equipped and *obligated to promote and participate in social change.*"

So if you need a doc fast and he's off picketing the AMA or the Chase National Bank, you'll know whom to blame.

Well, that day the New York *Times* wasn't all bad. There was what ought to have been a sardonic interview with Ernest Cole, a Negro from South Africa who came to the U.S.A., courtesy of the Ford Foundation, to learn about race relations here. Mr. Cole must have been a disappointment to his backers, for, instead of going to town on apartheid in Pretoria, he reported that "everywhere I saw racial attitudes like those I know from South Africa." In our South he was "more scared than I ever was in South Africa." But in the North "he felt racial prejudice wherever he went."

> **It looks as if we might as well have let those sailors from the carrier FDR have a look at Cape Town after all!**

Another exercise in *Times* light comedy was Sidney Zion's account of a dinner by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee during which a big mouth from the "Black Power" front, who had crashed the speaker's table, yelled at "Uncle Corliss" Lamont: "I'm going to expose you or you're going to put your money where your mouth is." The whole show cried for coverage by Octavius Roy Cohen (Remember the *Sons and Daughters of I Will Arise?*) but Mr. Zion did pretty well with it, leaving the bewildered "moderate" wondering where Corliss will elect to be insulted next.

That's about it, except that Mr. Otepka was found guilty again—guilty of informing a Senate committee about the status of subversives in the State Department! No news there, or in the Washington dispatch informing us, as if everybody didn't know, that Harry Dexter White was a Communist agent.

There was also a Paris account of a CBS interview with a group of GIs who have defected from the Army in Germany after carrying on anti-Viet Nam propaganda with their messmates. (In Philadelphia, a soldier who declared that he enlisted with the purpose of promoting the Communist-dominated League Against War and Fascism in the armed forces, is in a rage because the Army won't give him an honorable discharge. Instead of giving him 10 years in the brig, the Fascist stupes suggest an "undesirable discharge"! This, insisted Pvt. Andrew Stapp before an entranced audience, is "harassment.")

In view of all the material *supra*, I fall back on a short dispatch from Lima, Peru, picked up from Reuthers. It says that Indian medicine men in Peru had the birth control pill back in the 16th Century. It could be considered unfortunate—in moments of cynicism anyway—that this knowledge was so long delayed.

No U.S. Police Force Needed

From the Houston *Tribune*

We don't like the conclusion toward which David Lawrence's editorial in the December 4 edition of *U.S. News and World Report* points.

When Lawrence advocates "using the police power of the nation" to deal with guerrilla warfare in the streets he doesn't exactly use the phrase "a national police force."

But he comes close to doing that, as we see it, when he writes, "It's easy enough to quibble about the limits of the federal authority and to say that responsibility for maintenance of law and order is just a local affair," then in the next paragraph asks, "why doesn't the Department of Justice enforce" the "power of government to punish tresspass on private property and acts of violence?"

> **Permit us to quibble, if this be quibbling. We believe that it should continue to be, as it always has been, the function of the states and the localities to deal with riots—not the function of a national police force.**

We would make just one exception to that rule. We agree that the Department of Justice should have acted in the recent, disgraceful near-rebellion that took place on the grounds of the Pentagon. Washington is a special case. Since it is the national capital, with no local government worthy of the name, we agree that the federal government should have acted vigorously there. It didn't.

We agree wholeheartedly with part of Lawrence's editorial. We agree that "It's time to put an end to the riots, 'demonstrations' and violence which are plunging us into anarchy.

"It's time to abandon the excuses and political alibis which argue that the outbursts of looting, arson and vandalism in the cities are due to lack of *education or conditions of poverty.*" We have said the same thing, more than once.

Lawrence points out that "The Constitution, as stated in the Preamble, was established to ensure domestic tranquility" among other reasons. But by that phrase the Founding Fathers meant to guard against invasion from abroad and possibly also against armed quarrels between the states themselves.

> **They did not mean a national police force should be set up to combat riots in the streets of the various states. That is something for the cities and states to take care of, as in general they will do if not interfered with by Washington.**

It's also true, to quote the editorial further, that "the 5th Amendment declares that 'no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.' " But we take exception when the editorial goes on to ask, "What further definition of federal authority to deal with crime is needed?"

The 5th Amendment curbs the power of the government itself to deprive persons of life, liberty and property. It does not mean that it shall use police power to keep mobs from depriving citizens of life, liberty and property. That is a function of the states and their political subdivisions.

And the states and their subdivisions can fill this function, if the Supreme Court will not prevent them from doing so; also if the nation's chief executives will leave it up to the states' chief executives to call out the National Guard where such drastic action is needed.

But we cannot be too wary of a "national police force" or of federalizing the National Guard except in time of war.

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Dollar Weakness

The Fault Is at the Top

By HENRY HAZLITT

Unless there is an immediate about-face in all of President Johnson's economic policies, the days of the present semiconvertible one-35th-of-an-ounce-of-gold-dollar are numbered.

In all fairness, the Johnson Administration will not bear sole responsibility for this result. For 34 years, through the Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy regimes, we have been steadily undermining the value even of the 59-cent dollar adopted in January 1934. Thirty-one budget deficits in the last 37 years and a tenfold increase in the supply of paper money sum up the story.

But, under Lyndon Johnson and his "Great Society" spending spree, the whole process has been speeded up. One would think the devaluation of the pound on November 18 would have been enough of a shock to bring our fiscal and monetary officials back to sanity and responsibility. There is not a sign of it.

The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, William McChesney Martin, once regarded as the symbol of monetary conservatism, has presided this year over an increase in the nation's money stock at the reckless annual rate of 7 per cent, compared with an average rate of 2.4 per cent from 1957 to 1966. Since the pound devaluation there has been a speed-up rather than a slowdown in our own money-and-credit expansion policies.

And it does not increase foreign confidence in the dollar's continued convertibility into gold when Martin publicly

Federal Reserve Board chief William McC. Martin has urged the elimination of the 25 per cent gold reserve requirement.

declares that it's "barbarous" to depend on "this barbarous metal"—and then demands the elimination of even the 25 per cent gold reserve requirement without suggesting in exchange any legal limitation whatever on the continued emission of paper Federal Reserve notes.

As for President Johnson himself, his speech on December 6 before the Business Council revealed that he has learned nothing.

He solemnly urged business to "refrain from avoidable price increases." This by implication blames business for the price increases that his own budget deficits and expansion of the money supply have made inevitable. It is also a way of pointing an accusing finger at the big steel companies for raising one commodity price out of the thousands of commodity prices that have gone up in recent months and years as a result of the Johnson inflation.

In the same talk Mr. Johnson said: "I intend to urge labor to restrain its demands for excessive wage increases." This ignored the fact that wage increases are demanded and granted because of the same government monetary inflation that causes price increases. It also ignored the fact that unions can successfully impose exorbitant wage increases because the federal labor laws (the Norris-La Guardia and Taft-Hartley Acts) that the President has never once suggested repealing or amending—except to strengthen the unions' bargaining position to impose still more exorbitant demands.

The President said that he still hadn't resorted to "wage and price controls" because "voluntary restraint has made involuntary curbs unnecessary."

This can only be interpreted as a threat to impose wage and price controls if the President's own monetary inflation continues to have its inevitable effects. Nothing could be more disruptive to free enterprise and balanced production than such wage and price controls.

While the President reaffirmed his "pledge . . . to convert the dollar to gold at $35 an ounce," he made its fulfillment improbable by demanding still more "liquidity" (i.e., more paper money) that "need not rest on the uncertainties of gold production, consumption and speculation."

On the one measure that is desperately urgent—to halt the reckless federal spending expansion and mounting deficits—Mr. Johnson was completely silent.

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LBJ Can't Win Viet War With Present Advisers

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

In his address to organized labor at Miami, President Johnson reiterated his offer to receive from any citizen a constructive program for peace in Viet Nam. The President may believe he is open-minded on this issue, but he is not.

The real situation is apparent in his public statements. President Johnson is sure that he is pursuing the right course. He dismisses his critics as advocates of surrender or of escalation. He believes he is exercising firmness and restraint. His mind is closed.

The President is isolated from his critics by the staff which sustains his present policies. These men brush aside all suggestion of change. Alternatives are dismissed with canned answers.

The President himself sets the pace. Until he takes the initiative to broaden his consultation of conflicting viewpoints, no one else in government can do so.

Of course the President cannot deal personally with a multitude of critics. His obligation is to hear in depth the serious challenge to his policy made by responsible and competent critics like Generals Eisenhower and Bradley. Their view of sanctuary is widely held by informed and serious students of war.

The Administration dismisses the Eisenhower suggestion of hot pursuit as a step toward a wider war. If the President will examine the matter carefully, he will learn that hot pursuit doesn't widen wars; it ends them!

The Administration error is simple and obvious. It accepts the working premise advanced by the Soviet Union that North Viet Nam may attack South Viet Nam without provoking a wider war, but that South Viet Nam may not counterattack without such consequences. The proposition is on its face preposterous, but it is the heart of the Johnson position on Viet Nam.

We accept this irrational proposition out of fear that Communist China will intervene in Viet Nam. That fear is irrational. Who can believe that China would expose its industries to destruction rather than see Ho Chi Minh cease his aggression against South Viet Nam?

There is implicit in the fear of Communist Chinese intervention an assumption that the United States would not attack China but would fight the enlarged conflict in Viet Nam. That is what President Truman did in Korea and it was assurance of this reaction which led the Chinese to attack. Why are we now set to repeat the same mistake in Viet Nam?

U.S. infantrymen carry off a wounded comrade after a fire fight with Viet Cong regulars.

It is a tragic error to suppose that you can limit war by denying your forces access to territory from which the enemy is operating against you. That delusion encourages the hostile aggression and breeds war without end. This is the error which Prime Minister Atlee sold to Truman in Korea. This is the error which President Johnson now embraces in Viet Nam.

The consequences of the error are more disastrous in Viet Nam. There we cannot seal the border to protect the south from attack as we did in Korea.

No one is telling the President these realities of war. He is surrounded by men who insist that his policy of restraint is avoiding a wider war.

The commander-in-chief who approaches conflict with narrow, preconceived notions of available alternatives will find the enemy exploiting his limitations. Soviet strategists have built the Viet Nam war upon the Kennedy-Johnson misconceptions about sanctuary.

President Johnson could stage a full dress review of Viet Nam policy at the White House. Secretaries Rusk and McNamara could be called to defend present policy against attack by competent critics. Out of this process, the President would broaden his perspective of the war and find the avenue he is seeking to end the war. This would be doing what he so often says he wants to do, and what he has not done.

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Unionism: Next Crisis for American Universities?

It will be if the radical groups at Berkeley set a national trend

By ROBERT BAILEY

At the University of California the big questions are: "Is the student revolution over? Has the dust settled? Are we through with political panty raids? After Mario Savio, what?"

Since the volcanic Berkeley campus hasn't had a real eruption since its Student Strike of December 1966, the general feeling is that things have cooled off, that education is again the name of the game. And since national student plots hatched at Berkeley seem to set a precedent for the rest of the colleges, it is assumed by other university administrators that the worst is over.

This is the same kind of wishful thinking that can be equated to the police of tension-riddled cities who pray for rain or fog.

The radical consensus at UC is that nothing was won by the Free Speech Movement—the administration is still running the show. This isn't technically correct, since many concessions were made to the student demonstrators when the administration was threatened by a repeat performance of the Sproul Hall debacle. But measured in terms of what the rebels wanted, the concessions were moderate.

So the plotting and the planning goes on in hippy Berkeley flea bags and campus offices to find a way of bringing the world's education giant to its knees. And this time the militant dissenters may have found just the right gimmick: unionism.

The University of California at Berkeley has three unions operating on campus, all of which can be described as radical. Each, moreover, has attracted personalities whose desires to restructure society and the university would seem to take precedence over such bread-and-butter labor issues as wages and working conditions.

Their potential power is formidable. And while most academicians seem reluctant to resort to the strident tactics of unionism, many professors, graduate students and staff employes have no compunction about using unions to achieve their political and social goals.

One of the unions, comprised of militant faculty professors, was formed in 1963 as Local 1474 of the American Federation of Teachers. Its founder was classics Prof. Joseph Fontenrose, who describes himself as a radical and Socialist and who taught off-campus classes in Marxism during a recent summer.

Robert Bailey is the pen name of a California expert on national security affairs.

Left-Wing Backgrounds

In 1966 Local 1474's president was Prof. Richard Strohman, a left-wing associate of math wizard Prof. Stephen Smale with whom he worked to bring the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee into national prominence. Strohman hosted a Students for a Democratic Society benefit at his home at which past and present SDS presidents were to be the honored guests.

In January 1967, Prof. John B. Neilands, a biochemist, took over the reins at the same time he was unsuccessfully running for the Berkeley City Council on the radical Community for New Politics ticket. Calling himself "an independent radical, a muck-raker and a hell-raiser," he indelibly established his political posture by flying to Hanoi as an investigator for Bertrand Russell's war crimes tribunal. He, of course, "discovered" that U.S. planes had been "intentionally" bombing innocent civilians.

In 1965, while on a sabbatical leave in Sweden, Neilands was chairman of the Swedish Vietnam Day Committee. He was appropriately in the midst of demonstrators hurling political slogans and obscene epithets at Robert McNamara when the secretary was in San Francisco to address a UPI conference.

One president of the Berkeley faculty union who should go down in the radical hall of fame is Prof. Fred Stripp, who holds the distinction of being the first faculty advisor to the original chapter of the now famous W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. The *People's World* has identified Stripp as one of those who welcomed the late Communist DuBois to the Bay Area when he visited San Francisco.

The second campus union of the labor troika is another AFT affiliate, Local 1570, which was founded in 1965 to organize the large number of graduate students who were teaching assistants, researchers or readers or who were in any other category of academic employment. A key organizer of this union was Robert P. Kaufman, a UC teaching assistant in the Department of Social Science. Sporting an impressive history of radical activity, Kaufman, according to a state Senate report, has been: a member of the Free Speech Movement's executive committee; an organizer in the founding of the DuBois Clubs of America; a participant in SNCC and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; a supporter of UC's inventive Viet Nam Day Teach-ins, and a co-author with Bettina Aptheker of a DuBois Club pamphlet on the FSM spectacle.

Douglas Wachter joined the recent picketing of the Berkeley campus chancellor's office. Wachter was tagged as one of the ringleaders of the anti-HCUA riots in San Francisco back in 1960.

Local 1570 has grown rapidly and achieved popularity as a vehicle for radical graduate students who wish to impose their politics upon the UC administration.

Among the issues they cite as union accomplishments: "*raised funds* and supplied pickets to the striking agricultural workers of Delano. . . . Supported efforts to *organize* classroom teachers by joining Bay Area locals in the first two *teacher's strikes* in California history. . . . Sponsored, endorsed and backed various activities in civil rights and the peace movement. . . ."

In a widely distributed campus flier of January 1967, following Clark Kerr's dismissal, Local 1570 said: "We shall not stand for outside interference in the governance of our affairs. We shall not tolerate the regents being used as a handmaiden of reactionary government. We shall not allow our university to be destroyed because of the political dealings of the Reaganites in Sacramento or the regents . . . we will fight against this intrusion with all the forces at our command. . . . The AFT, the graduate students, and the student body are resolved to act."

Local 1570's leaders indicated in a flier following the Student Strike of 1966 that wages and working conditions were not primary issues with their union. They warned: " . . . we must not delude ourselves now—the basic demands for which we as students fought remain unmet; the basic issues of that controversy remain unresolved. . . . Long-term peace on this campus will not be assured until these issues are resolved in a manner consistent with the basic tenets of academic freedom and civil liberties."

Certainly the radical concept of academic freedom and civil liberty is not at all in accord with the general concept and is certainly inconsistent with the ordered management of the campus community.

Now, one year after Local 1570 flexed its muscles, a showdown in which the union is taking the side of the radical students is emerging. This time it is over the issue of disciplinary action against a number of war-draft student protestors involved in illegal campus rallies related to October's Stop the Draft Week at the Oakland Induction Center, where thousands of students and non-students created havoc in the downtown business district. These unauthorized rallies violated existing university regulations and 72 students were threatened with disciplinary action by the administration.

Union Integrity Questioned

Once again the integrity of Local 1570 as a union agency can be questioned. "If the 72 students are disciplined, we will take whatever action is necessary," Bob Atkins of Local 1570 told a campus audience. "The ultimate weapon of a strike is under consideration," he said. A Local 1570 flier announced, "Because for two years union policy has been opposition to the war, because four of the 11 threatened with suspension are union members . . . AFT 1570 demands . . . that no one receive disciplinary probation or suspension. . . ."

While administrators pondered whether to take action, a mass meeting was planned by those protesting the potential fate of the defiant students.

Fliers informed the campus community: "Extraordinary Convocation of the University Community" to "Defend the Suspended Students" read the Local 1570 flier, which advocated: "AFT 1570 urges all students and faculty to attend the convocation rather than classes. . . ."

The speakers announced by this union notice hardly qualify as labor or union experts: Rev. James Bevel (SCLC), Ralph Schoenman (Bertrand Russell's personal secretary), Ralph Featherstone (SNCC program director), Greg Calvert (national SDS officer), Lincoln Lynch (assistant national director of CORE), Robert Scheer (*Ramparts* magazine), Emery Davis (Black Panther Party for Self-Defense).

The third union is the University of California Clerical, Technical and Professional Employes Union, Local 1695. This group was chartered by the Amer-

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ican Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes (AFSCME), whose president, Jerry Wurf, has some rather militant thoughts on the subject of unionism.

Wurf has been leading the campaign to knock down any bars against government employe strikes and was recently quoted as saying: "To hell with them [states, counties and cities]. If we have to strike we will strike, law or no law!"

Local 1695 has not lost the stridency of its parent group. Indeed, it is a chip off the old block. Spelling out its views on how to alter things on campus, the local's first bulletin stressed:

"Rather than student power, or faculty power, or any other kind of power, it was predicted that a strong, responsible employe union would be the force to finally bring change to Berkeley."

In the same bulletin this item appears: "If you should change your name or address, the person to contact is Margaret Lima (848-0929/34500). Margaret is keeping the mailing list up to date. If you have a friend whom you would like to receive our information regularly, give Margaret a call and she'll take care of it."

Miss Lima, the daughter of the northern California chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., was a student at UC last year, but is currently employed on campus by the International Population, and Urban Research Department. She has been an active participant in radical organizations at UC, and California's senate report stated, "Bettina Aptheker lived with the Lima family when she first came to Oakland, and Margaret was one of the persons arrested during the Sproul Hall invasion."

The new union's first bid for attention was Aug. 22, 1967, during the noon hour crush on campus when they set up picket lines about the building housing the chancellor's office and that scarred old target of the left, Sproul Hall. The pickets were protesting the firing of a fellow worker, a probationary employe in the mail division, who was dismissed for "inability to get along with fellow employes."

The picket signs were pretty standard fare: "Immediate Reinstatement of Bob Wolpinsky," "Local 1695 Defends Worker," "Does the Chancellor Protect and Condone Liars?"

An interesting facet of the whole operation was the presence of Douglas Wachter on the picket line. A university laboratory technician in the Biochemistry Department, where he is reportedly doing the duties of "union steward" for Local 1695, the youthful Wachter was the UC student who, during the infamous HCUA riots in San Francisco in 1960, was described in a congressional report on that Communist-led demonstration as "another Communist party member [who] played an important role in the student riots . . . an agent trained to specialize in youth activities . . . a sophomore at the University of California, Douglas Wachter was a delegate, together with his father, Saul Wachter, to the 17th National Convention of the Communist party in December 1959." Wachter was arrested at the demonstration, according to the report.

In addition to picketing for Local 1695, Wachter has been a photographer for the union's newspaper and recently received a byline for one of his photographs of a radical gathering which appeared in the Communist *People's World* of San Francisco.

Many of the 6,000-to-9,000 UC employes who would be eligible for Local 1695 employment include young student militants who have dropped out for a term or a year to devote more time to the Socialist Workers party, or Progressive Labor or their favorite Community for New Politics candidate.

Many are relatives of radical instructors and students. Some are even old-time Marxists who love to be where the action is, always ready to add their bodies to the ever-turning mimeograph machines of the left or the ever-marching demonstrations in Berkeley.

One of the more ominous features of this whole union business is the attitude of Alameda County's Central Labor Council, which has gone on record as ready to bring sanctions to bear on the UC administration if campus union privileges are abridged.

Bettina Aptheker had called upon the local Teamsters' Union, and other union members with cause to enter the university grounds, to cooperate with the Free Speech Movement; she largely failed.

However, during the Student Strike of December 1966, the union alliance which she sought to create and utilize as part of her own power bloc did materialize. Because so many students were turned away from locked classrooms by teaching assistants who were striking also, the regents voted to take disciplinary action, possible dismissal, against striking instructors.

In a flier which saturated the campus while the strike was in progress, the changing union picture was emerging: "AFT Local 1570 voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike. . . . Their renewed confidence was based in part on yesterday's strike support from the Alameda County Central Labor Council, which pledged full assistance should reprisals be taken against TAs for union activities. . . ."

It is reasonable to assume that the radical campus groups of faculty members and graduate student teachers and the UC Clerical, Technical and Professional Employes Union No. 1695, will at some time in the near future decide to test their capacity to close the University of California.

The president of Local 1695's parent body, Jerry Wurf, spells out the message: "Twenty years ago we started organizing unions. Today we have to go beyond this; we have to organize ourselves politically. We have to take power and put it to work . . . we will organize and organize and organize until we have the largest unions on the American labor scene. We will go out and support our friends and we will support them so hard that anybody who doesn't get our support doesn't need our punishment or enmity. They will be finished."

★ ★ ★

While Mario Savio was baking bread at the Santa Rita Prison Farm for his part in the FSM revolt, a new militant union strength was building at UC. And if it is successful at UC it will set the pattern for a radical power play at colleges across the nation.

While "Mill-In's" continue to disrupt the operation of the Berkeley campus (November 30, December 1 and 4) no strike has yet been called by a campus union, in part because UC Chancellor Roger Heyns only suspended two of the 72 persons cited for speaking at the illegal rallies and neither of the two suspended students were union members.

But someday an expendable UC teaching assistant, who is a union member, will defy the administration, martyr himself by provoking his dismissal; the triggering device is immaterial. Two teacher's unions and the employes union will "walk out" in support of the martyr's union rights, or civil rights, or whatever.

The union labor force of the entire county of Alameda, which totally surrounds the Berkeley campus and upon which it is dependent for its daily life, will fulfill its promise and throw the main switch and the largest educational institution in the world may very well grind to a halt.

Politics of Prime Importance to Unions

The fact that political radicalism takes precedence over wages and working conditions was demonstrated when the new Employes Union on the University of California campus at Berkeley distributed its special membership meeting notices for September.

Among proposals on Viet Nam were: "We can begin to spread the anti-war and anti-draft movements throughout unions in this area by passing the following resolution: Resolved: AFSCME Local 1695 fully supports the 'Stop the Draft Week' (October 16-21). We urge both our members and our brother unions to actively participate and support the activities of the week." . . . "Organized labor **can** stop the war through economic and political pressure." . . . "Local 1695 . . . urges the United States government to take measures, both unilaterally and responsively, to disengage itself from that conflict. . . .

"Opposition to the Viet Nam war is a healthy step forward for our union, but it is not enough. We must translate our beliefs into action. 'Stop the Draft Week' is an action designed to affect the war at its most vulnerable point: the supply of men. During the week of October 16-21, a series of massive demonstrations will obstruct the induction centers across the country. . . . Monday evening there will be a rally in Oakland Park climaxed by a march to the Oakland Induction Center. We will sit-in around the building, thus immobilizing its operation for the next day. . . . If you have either time or money please contact: Movement Office (SNCC) or Berkeley SDS Anti-Draft Union."

Prior to Bill's Passage

Many OEO Reforms Axed in Secret Meetings

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

The Administration got away with a lot more than is publicly realized in the long-fought-over legislation continuing the battered and scarred anti-poverty program.

A detailed study discloses that most of the tightening and plugging-up revisions approved during the measure's progress through Congress either were eliminated entirely or considerably watered down in the secret Senate-House conference during the closing days of the adjournment rush.

Thanks to the unyielding stand of the House, spending by the Office of Economic Opportunity was cut to $1.773 billion instead of the $2.06 billion sought by the President. Also due to adamant House insistence, state and local authorities will have some control over the turbulent and widely controversial community action agencies.

But with these two major exceptions, the scandal-tarred anti-poverty program emerged practically unscathed. In fact, in a few instances Director Sargent Shriver's latitude was even enlarged.

A particularly significant case of this, in view of next year's elections, is the diluting of Section 603 barring political activity by anti-poverty employes either during or after working hours. As modified, this restriction now applies "only to that portion of their time for which they receive compensation provided directly or indirectly under the authority of the Act."

In other words, anti-poverty workers will be free to engage in politics outside of working hours—a loophole that could prove highly useful to Democratic politicos and candidates.

Also important, the program was authorized to continue for two years instead of one, as in the past. That means the Administration will not have to go back to Congress to seek new authority next year—another valuable advantage in a stormy election period.

A careful analysis reveals a long list of scuttled revisions, among them the following:

• An amendment by Rep. James Gardner (D.-N.C.), decisively approved by the House, barring anti-poverty workers from engaging in "picketing, protests, demonstrations, riot or any similar group activities." In the secret conferences the effectiveness of this restriction was largely destroyed by the insertion of one word—"unlawful." As a consequence, anti-poverty employes are now free to riot and demonstrate as long as it is tagged "lawful."

• An amendment by Rep. John Erlenborn (R.-Ill.), repealing Section 616 under which the OEO director is empowered to juggle funds from one activity to another as he sees fit. In the secret conferences Erlenborn's provision was junked, and the money switching authority was restored.

• Two amendments by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio); one revoking the director's power to employ "experts" and "consultants" at from $50 to $100 a day, and the other limiting the number of "supergrade" anti-poverty officials. At OEO's Washington office, 49 are drawing salaries ranging from $19,000 to $30,000. In the secret conferences both provisions were axed.

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Vocational Education Is Youth Welfare

By ALICE WIDENER

Cleveland, Ohio:—It would be a tragedy for youth in our nation, and especially for youth in minority groups, if boards of education were to follow in the footsteps of the New York City Board of Education. Early this month it voted—in opposition to the schools superintendent—to phase out most of the vocational high schools serving the imperative needs of more than 33,000 boys and girls in greater New York City, thus passing what the press describes as "a death sentence" on vocational education.

The board did this at the very time when more than 5,000 members of the American Vocational Association were holding a convention here in Cleveland to discuss means of advancing and improving their indispensable, modern and socially dedicated work.

How cruelly unwise is the New York City educational decision was brought home to me personally in Cleveland on a visit to the Thomas Edison Vocational School in the impoverished Hough area, scene of tragic riots in the summer of 1966. The dramatic facts concerning the school prove that Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality and militant civil rights leader, was certainly right about one thing in an article for the New York *Times*, Nov. 13, 1967, when he said, "Public education does not teach practical skills to children. Basic skills are needed to earn a living."

Recognition of that fact by the residents of the Hough area led to a remarkable situation during the riots. Though windows in every home and building surrounding the Thomas Edison School were smashed, not a single school pane was broken, not a brick was hurled at the building, not an inch of school property was damaged.

In the office of the dedicated school principal, Mr. Romcea, I had a long talk with three Negro teachers at Thomas Edison, which is attended by 350 pupils from the Hough area and other Cleveland communities.

"You can only get the true picture of what this school means to people around here by learning something about its history," explained one of the teachers, a woman specialist in helping pupils acquire basic academic skills needed for a student to progress in his chosen occupational skill. "Years ago, Thomas Edison was a 'bad boy' school and had a very bad name. It was hard to overcome. But now it's a good name school. The students know it gives them their big chance to make it on their own out of homes where adults living on welfare sit around all day and night, drinking beer and playing cards."

I asked what she thought about welfare for Negroes.

"Our worst enemy," she said. "And schools like this are our best friends."

Recently, the business community in Cleveland gave more than $100,000 in new equipment to Thomas Edison Vocational School, a brick building more than 75 years old. Soon it will be replaced by a new school and a big community complex—built with federal, state and city funds—with housing units, stores, medical and service installations, day nurseries and other necessary facilities.

At a meeting with public information officers belonging to the American Vocational Association at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, I had a chance to talk with their director, Mary P. Allen of Washington, D.C. She is deeply appreciative of the intelligent attention that Congress is beginning to give to vocational education and of the efforts being made by President Johnson's special commission to study the subject.

Columnist Widener has been in the forefront of the fight for expanded vocational training.

It truly is said that New York City—with 775,000 citizens on welfare and thousands upon thousands receiving unemployment benefits—has failed to recognize the fact now being acknowledged by educators in most other regions of our country and in all the advanced industrial nations of the world: At least 70 per cent of young people do not go in for a profession requiring years of higher education in college. What they want and need is to learn at an early age how to do work enabling them to get and hold a job after high school. Vocational and technical education—accompanied by instruction in basic academic subjects—is a highly desirable form of social security for the majority of young people. Such education is the best insurance of their welfare.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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SEVEN-YEAR SPREE—"The past seven years of liberal administrations under the New Frontier and the 'Great Society' will be chalked up as the most expensive period in American history. Between 1960 and 1967: The federal government has spent $60.4 billion more than it has received in revenues; interest on this deficit spending alone costs $2.8 billion in interest payments each year. While population has grown 10 per cent, the number of federal workers has grown 25 per cent, the cost of federal civilian payrolls 75 per cent, and total federal spending 80 per cent. Defense spending has risen 68 per cent; non-defense spending has gone up 97 per cent (from $48.6 billion in fiscal 1960 to an estimated $95.6 billion in fiscal 1968). Gold reserves have dropped to $12.4 billion (lower than at any time since 1937), while foreign claims against American gold have risen to more than $32 billion. The same factors which have forced the British to devalue their pound have become increasingly prevalent here at home, convincing many economists that the United States—like Britain—will also have to make an embarrassing admission of bankruptcy in the near future." —Commentator Fulton Lewis III in *Exclusive*

A Year-End Report

By MORRIE RYSKIND

For the next fortnight the world will have to struggle along without my expertise, for this is that happy season when I close down the village store and spend my vacation communing with friends of auld lang syne. And this year there's one of new lang syne in the shape of a cuddly granddaughter six months new.

There is, however, a small fly in the ointment. Since this is my last column for 1967, SEC regulations require me to issue a year-end report to my stockholders. This, I regret, is available even to those who take no stock in me whatsoever.

To make no bones about it, the news is not good. 1967 was written mainly in red ink, and no dividend can be declared this time.

We were apparently overstocked on those William McKinley and Calvin Coolidge buttons that formerly went so well; and we encountered considerable customer resistance to Chanel No. 4, which we thought just as good a purchase as Chanel No. 5. Even cutting the price on these items did not move them.

But by far the biggest loss was registered at the old-fashioned notions department, whose staples have been the very backbone of the store since its inception almost 200 years ago. The standard commodities of the Puritan Ethic were bypassed for the handsomely packaged but sterile products of the Welfare State offered by the opposing store.

Thus, gumption was once the proud hallmark of every American family, from the newest immigrant to the DAR—but now that the rewards it offered to the sturdy and industrious are obtainable via government handout, who needs it? I would call it a drug on the market except that in many groups—allegedly intellectual—drugs like LSD are far more marketable.

And patriotism has become a dirty 10-letter word that is taboo, even by the Free Speech Movement, in mixed company. If 500,000 American war criminals choose to fight in Viet Nam, do we have to support these mercenaries? The barbarous massacre of the civilian villagers of Dak To would in olden time have ranked with the Nazi destruction of Lidice. But not when the new motto is, "My country, always wrong! But, right or wrong, hail my country's enemy!"

We used to sell lots of flags, from the 10-cent ones the kids loved to wave to the $2 kind that flew so proudly from shops and houses. Only our old trade buys Old Glory for display now—there's a new gang that wants a package of matches with every flag.

Even the original Ten Commandments find the going tough, since a good many preachers now offer a revised version that receives much kudos on TV panels. The revision isn't much, to be sure; it consists only of taking the "nots" out of the injunctions that begin "Thou shalt not . . ." and inserting them into those that begin, "Thou shalt . . ." Still, it's not as new as it seems: Sodom and Gomorrah tried it, too.

If the above sound overly pessimistic, this quotation—ascribed to one Fred W. Bender—may be apropos: "More than one pessimist got that way by financing an optimist." And heaven knows the American taxpayer has financed so many Utopian schemes that never brought Utopia, and purchased so many gold bricks made of 14-carat straw that he is lucky to still own, free and clear, one shirt for his back.

Nor does 1968 look more promising—unless in November we decide to fight our way out of the morass we're in and elect a candidate whose record shows he can lead us back to the old-fashioned path of moral, spiritual and financial solvency.

It is in that faith that I shall reopen the old store in two weeks. And meanwhile let me thank the many faithful customers who have taken the time to send me their Christmas greetings, often accompanied by a most friendly note of encouragement. It is heartwarming to know that I am far from alone in preferring that Uncle Sam ride safely in an unmortgaged horse-and-buggy than go to Gehenna in a $250-billion jet plane that his grandchildren will eventually have to pay for.

Bless you all!

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Final Boxscore on 90th Congress, 1st Session

MEASURES PASSED BY CONGRESS:

• **Teacher Corps.** Congress voted by a narrow margin to continue this program, which sends teaching interns into slum and poverty-stricken rural schools to attempt education improvements. The corps' appropriation was cut from the President's requested $33 million to $13.5 million and House conservatives added an amendment which attempts to insure local control of corps activities.

• **Elementary Education.** An attempt by House Republicans to have funds in this $9.2-billion two-year program appropriated by "block grants" (given to individual state departments of education to use at their discretion, rather than have the federal government appropriate to local school districts for specific projects) was partially successful, as a handful of projects were designated for a block grant approach. Another alteration prohibited the federal government from cutting off funds to a local school district because of civil rights violations unless it was proved the district violated the law.

• **Public Broadcasting.** This controversial measure created a "public" corporation, funded initially with $9 million in federal tax dollars, to assist in the production of programs on educational television channels; also provided were funds to aid in the building and expansion of educational radio and TV facilities. Conservative criticism focused on the introduction of government voice and influence into the field of mass communications, with some congressmen calling the bill a first step toward "thought control."

• **Air Pollution.** President Johnson proposed a measure which would have asserted strong federal control in this field, but conservatives managed to blunt many of the bureaucratic thrusts. The proposal to grant the secretary of health, education and welfare broad power in setting pollution standards and punishing violators was dropped and the focus of the act was shifted to federal support of state pollution control programs.

• **Foreign Aid.** Although Congress authorized the lowest foreign aid figure in the history of the program—$2.6 billion, or $787 million below what LBJ asked for—important anti-Communist amendments were scuttled by congressional liberals bent on "building bridges" to Red-bloc nations. One of the most vital of these was a House-passed amendment prohibiting tariff concessions to Communist Poland, under the "most-favored-nation" clause, as long as it continues to provide arms to North Viet Nam; the proviso was scrapped in the Senate.

• **Outer Space Treaty.** Despite the opinion of military and space experts that the pact was unenforceable, Congress ratified a U.S.-Soviet treaty (which other nations could sign) prohibiting the orbiting of nuclear (or "mass destruction") weapons. While the experts asserted there was no sure way to tell what was being orbited, Senate liberals were insistent on using the treaty as an attempt to "relax" East-West tensions.

• **Consular Treaty.** Another controversy-laden "bridge building" effort was the treaty allowing the Soviet Union to operate consulates in U.S. cities, and vice versa. Conservative criticism, bolstered by a statement by FBI Chief Hoover, centered on the fact that the hundreds of new Communist consular employes would have criminal and diplomatic immunity and would increase Soviet espionage activities in the U.S. Nevertheless, the Senate OK'd the pact.

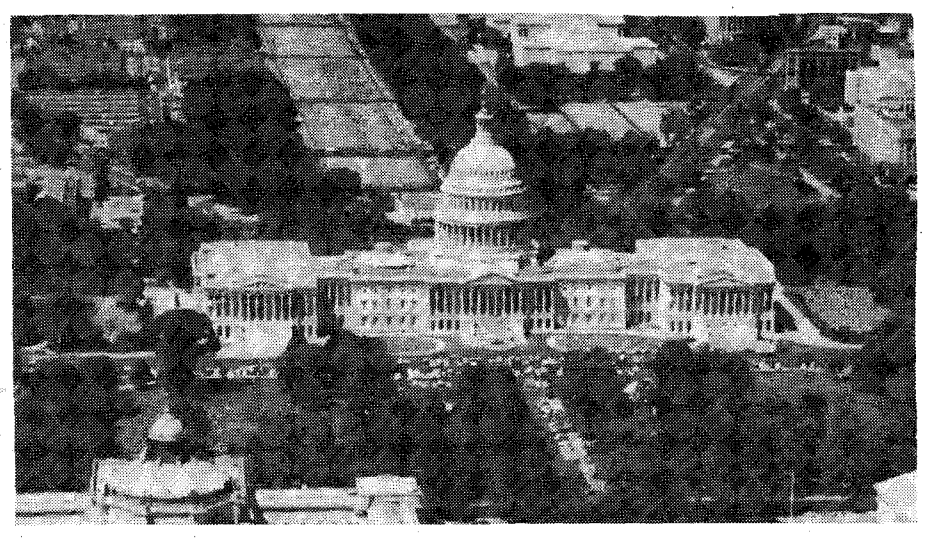
• **Federal Pay Raises.** Together with a bill increasing postal rates (starting Jan. 7, 1968, first class mail will be 6¢; air mail, 10¢), Congress approved whopping 6 per cent pay increases for postal workers and 4.5 per cent hikes for all other federal employes; the salary boosts totaled $63 million more than LBJ had budgeted for fiscal 1968. Also included was a federal employe life insurance program costing $48 million more than the Administration proposal.

• **Poverty Amendments.** The most bitter and extended battle of the congressional session was the fight over extending the life of the war on poverty, with Congress authorizing $1.7 billion in fiscal '68 poverty projects in the last days of the session. Biggest controversies involved an amendment (which was approved) granting local government control of all community action programs and conservative attempts to prevent poverty workers from engaging in political activities; liberals managed to soften anti-politicking amendments so that poverty warriors are now covered only while they are actually on the job.

• **Social Security Amendments.** In the final days of the session Congress acted on the much-debated changes in the Social Security program, approving a 13 per cent benefit increase for some 23.8 million recipients (LBJ had requested a 15 per cent boost), and a monthly minimum income regulation raise from $40 to $50. Although many House-approved welfare revisions were dropped by the Senate, or in conference, a requirement that aid-to-dependent-children recipients take work-training instruction was approved.

• **Model Cities.** President Johnson had requested $662 million for this controversial program aimed at rehabilitating slum areas, but Congress cut the appropriation in half—$312 million. Further dispute over the program cropped up after its congressional passage, when the Department of Housing and Urban Development disclosed the first 63 cities to receive funds under the program: Most of the 63 cities, some of them really small towns, were represented by influential House Democrats and only nine had GOP representatives.

• **Rent Supplements.** In a major defeat for the Johnson Administration, the House refused—by 62 votes—to appropriate a single cent for the program designed to pay part of the rent for low-income families seeking better



housing. The Senate later approved the Administration's full $40-million request, but House members refused to make much of a compromise in conference and a final allotment of only $10 million, basically for planning, managed to squeak through.

• **Other legislation of interest** passed by the 90th Congress, 1st Session, included a $40-million rat control project, a $185-million Food Stamp program, legislation granting federal financing for state meat inspection programs, an extension of the draft system without significant reform, $175 million in mass transit grants, a 7 per cent investment tax credit, and an extension—after lengthy debate—of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

MEASURES CONGRESS DID NOT PASS:

• **Common-situs Picketing.** This was organized labor's No. 1 legislative goal of the 90th Congress, and for the second year in a row it failed to receive congressional action. The bill would allow a construction union striking against one contractor at a construction site to picket the entire project, thus closing it down. The bill was approved by the House Education and Labor Committee, but neither the House nor the Senate took floor action.

• **Export-Import Bank.** Congress did not obey the Administration's request to continue the authority of the Export-Import Bank, principally because of a concerted conservative drive to ban bank loans to Communist nations. The Senate approved amendments barring Ex-Im grants to nations trading with North Viet Nam and another preventing it from giving financial assistance to a proposed Italian Fiat auto plant in the Soviet Union. Because the Administration hotly opposed these amendments and was fearful the House would endorse them, House Democratic leaders refused to bring the bill up for debate.

• **Civil Rights.** The first victim in LBJ's civil rights package was the "open housing" provision, which would have enforced federal regulations against discriminatory practices in almost all housing by 1969; no congressional action was taken on this measure. The House did pass a bill protecting persons in the process of exercising their constitutional rights; Senate conservatives objected, however, because the House measure protected only those intimidated **because** of their race, color or religion, rather than **regardless** of these factors. (Senate liberals rejected a substitute measure granting rights protection to such other individuals as union members and American Indians.)

• **Truth-in-Lending.** Because of dispute over restrictions placed on the revolving credit systems used in most department stores, House action was postponed on the Senate-passed version of this bill. If approved next session, the measure would introduce federal control into a new area of American economics.

• **Anti-riot.** In the midst of the summer city riots, the House passed a measure making it a federal offense for an individual to cross state lines to incite a riot. Because of strong Administration opposition, the bill was buried in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

• **Crime.** Congressional conservatives added a number of strengthening amendments to the President's Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill, most of which met with liberal opposition; the result was a deadlock and no action. Among the additions was a substantial appropriation to local police forces for controlling and preventing riots, approval of court-ordered wiretapping and an amendment allowing trial courts to accept any confessions except those gained through coercion.

• **Tax Surcharge.** LBJ's failure to get his proposed income tax-surcharge is generally regarded as the President's most significant legislative defeat of the year. Congress refused to grant the 10 per cent tax increase until the Administration substantially reduced government spending, and the House Ways and Means Committee therefore tabled the measure. When the White House proposed budget cuts of $4.1 billion in November, Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) said this was not enough and remarked that if LBJ was sincere in this effort he should cut out $2 to $3 billion more before Congress would act. Mills did, however, promise to begin hearings on the tax increase soon after Congress reconvenes.

• **Additional controversial legislation** Congress took no final action on included a bill designed to help control juvenile delinquency; the Administration's gun control law; political campaign finance reform; extension of the highway beautification program; establishment of a federal redwoods park in California, and a national program of flood insurance. Bills introduced in the 1st Session that were not killed in committee or by the full Congress are still alive and can be acted on in the 2nd Session.

The weekly feature, "Spotlight on Congress," will begin again in January when the 2nd Session of the 90th Congress convenes. As soon as any voting ratings for the 1st Session are available, Human Events *will print them.*

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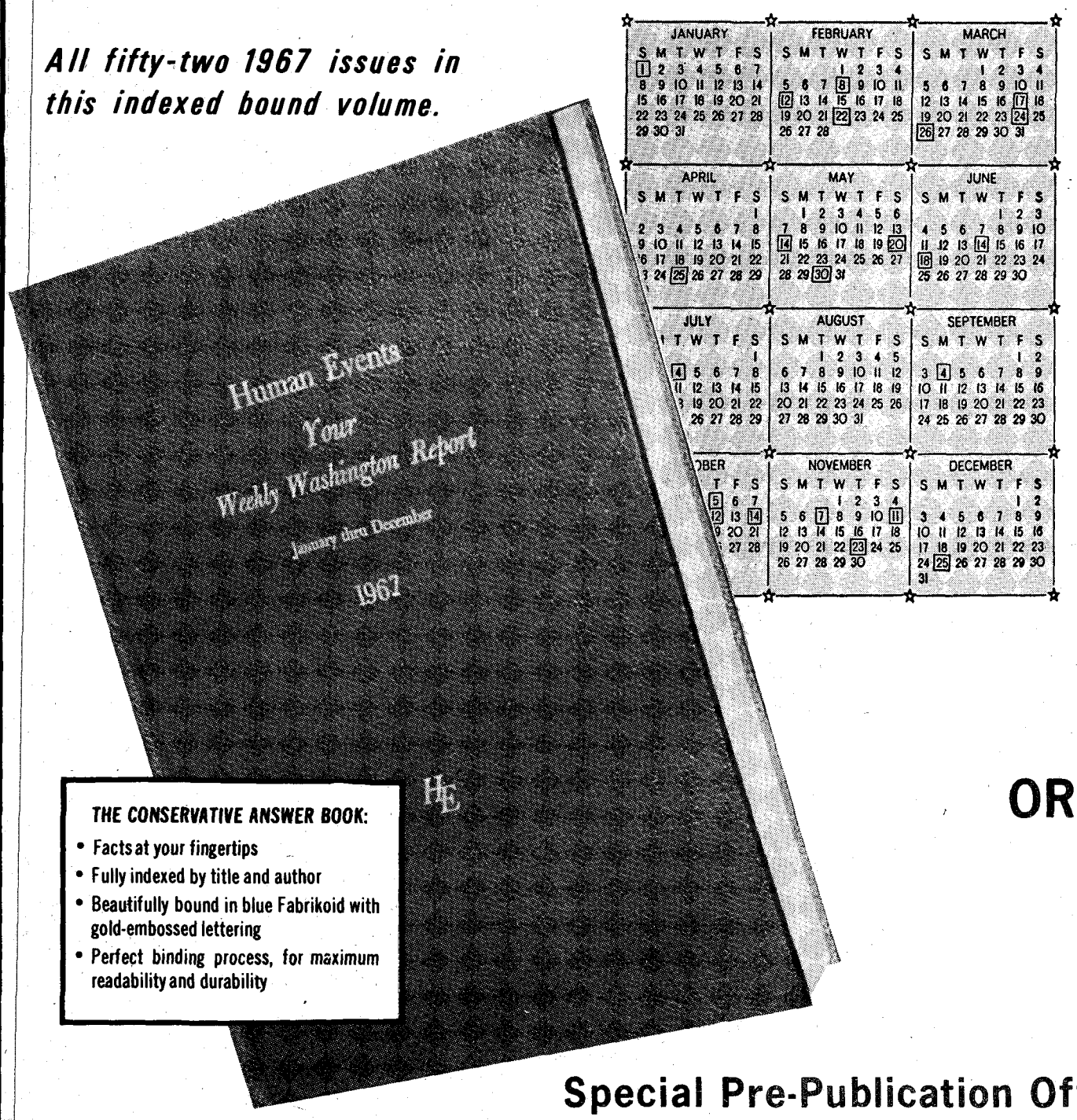

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